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THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LORDS.

ON Monday night the Peers wandered into a discussion by no means without interest or importance as to the mode in which the Government treats the House of Lords. The discussion arose in this way. The Cape Colony has passed a Bill establishing representative government in the settlement, and Lord SALISBURY invited the Ministry to advise the QUEEN to withhold her assent to it, on the ground that the Bill had not been carried as a Bill of such importance ought to be carried. Last year the Assembly passed, and the Legislative Council rejected, a similar Bill. This year two members who last year were against it changed their opinions, or, as Lord SALISBURY put it, had been lured over, and the Bill was passed by the Legislative Council, although some of its provisions were only carried by the casting vote of the Chairman. The Home Government had avowedly let it be known that they wished such a Bill to be carried, and the reasons assigned why Lord KIMBERLEY should refuse to advise the Royal assent to it were three—that two members of the Legislative Council had been lured over, that it was not fitting that questions of such primary magnitude for the future of the colony should be settled by a casting vote, and that the electors should have been consulted by a dissolution before so great a change was imposed on them. It did not, however, appear that the two members who had changed their opinions had been lured over in any other sense than that they knew that the opinions held by the Governor of the colony and by the Home Government were opposed to the opinions they had last year entertained. It is part of the existing Constitution of the colony that the Chairman of the Legislative Council may give a casting vote, and as the Home Government approved of the Bill, it was not for him to put the electors to the trouble of a dissolution in order to see whether the minority against the Bill might not be converted into a majority. Lord SALISBURY thought the Bill bad for the colony, and Lord KIMBERLEY thought it good for the colony, and to discuss which was right would be to enter on difficult questions of local politics. But the Government seems to have been right in looking only at the public action of the Legislative Council. It would be a dangerous precedent to reject a Bill because it was vaguely surmised that two persons who voted for it had been lured over, and because, under a Constitution permitting a chairman to give a casting vote, he had given one. When, again, bodies duly elected in a colony pass a measure, it seems hard on them that the Home Government should say that there must be a new election to see if the electors will confirm their decision. But it was quite natural for Lord SALISBURY to see in this incident of colonial history a connexion with home politics of much interest, and especially of much interest to a leading peer. The question so often raised by Lord SALISBURY and other Conservative peers was in an indirect way being fought over again. The Liberal Government treats measures deliberately adopted by the House of Commons as adopted by those whom the House of Commons represents, when no sign of dissent has been made in the majority of the constituencies. Many Conservative peers say that the House of Commons only represents the people on a question of radical importance when the issue was put distinctly before the people at the time when the House of Commons was elected. The House of Lords, according to this theory, would be always entitled to ask, as the French Imperialists are so fond of asking, for a plébiscite before it regarded anything it disliked as settled. There is much to be said for this theory, but the balance of reasoning is, we think, against it, on account of the extreme democratic consequences to which it might easily lead. The Executive

and the House of Commons would be equally discredited if the Peers could thus order a reference to the people.

But Lord SALISBURY raised a further question. He assumed that the Government, finding the opinion of the Legislative Council of the Cape opposed to its own, had determined to break down the opposition by fair means or foul. The Upper Chamber of the colony had seen its just influence set aside, and this, Lord SALISBURY said, was quite in keeping with what goes on at home, where "their Lordships knew with what want of respect this "House had been treated by Her MAJESTY'S Government." Lord GRANVILLE eagerly asked him to explain to what he referred, and he said that he referred to the use of the Royal Prerogative for the abolition of purchase last year, and to the refusal of the Crown, under the advice of the Ministry, to comply with the Lords' Address carried by Lord ABINGER, with regard to the appointment of majors in the scientific corps of the army. It is not necessary to enter on the well-worn question of the use of the royal prerogative last Session, further than to remark that it by no means concerned the Lords alone, and that the most serious incident of the whole transaction was the broad hint thrown out by Mr. GLADSTONE that, if he was supported by the people, he did not much care whether either House objected to his use of the prerogative. He was forced afterwards to think over the whole affair carefully, and to gain some instruction from it, and the general course of events warned him to be in every way more moderate. It is therefore of some moment to inquire whether the recent conduct of the Government in dealing with the House of Lords can be fairly accused of having, in the language of Lord SALISBURY, been characterized by anything but sentiments of affection and respect. We must say that we do not think it at all open to this criticism. The Peers complained that they had no work to do; and the Government, wishing to please them, introduced the Licensing Bill in the Upper House. The Peers made many changes in the Ballot Bill; and the Government not only adopted all that they possibly could, but actually tried to adopt more than the House of Commons would allow them to adopt. The Peers have thrown out the Commons Enclosure Bill, on which much pains had been bestowed, without a murmur from the Government. Lord CAIRNS extinguished instantaneously the humble flame of the CHANCELLOR'S scheme for Law Reform, and the Ministry had not a word to say. Only last week both law officers of the Crown entirely and positively declined to have anything whatever to do with any question of law reform, because all law reform must depend on the good pleasure of the Peers, and there was no saying what the good pleasure of the Peers might be. If this is treating the Lords with a want of respect, they must indeed be exacting. There only remains the advice of the Ministry to the Crown not to comply with Lord ABINGER'S Address. But surely this was a very small matter. A very elaborate scheme for re-arranging the position of officers of the scientific forces had been long preparing, and was anxiously expected. Lord ABINGER carried an Address in which the Lords requested that the scheme might be delayed for further inquiry. The Crown was advised to reply that any delay would be prejudicial to the interests of the service, and that everything was ripe for the proposed change. The whole question, it must be remembered, turned upon whether there should or not be majors of Engineers and Artillery. Almost exactly a similar case happened in the days when Lord PALMERSTON, with whom the Lords were always very well satisfied, was Premier. In 1864 the Lords carried an Address praying that Wakefield and not Leeds might be made the assize town of a district. The Crown was advised to reply that the choice of Leeds had been made, and could not be unmade without

inconvenience, and so the prayer of the Lords' address could not be acceded to. The Lords were perfectly patient under their failure, and none of them suggested that the PRIME MINISTER had been insulting them and trampling on their feelings.

LORD SALISBURY is sometimes accused of fighting the battle of the Lords too warmly, and of looking out too eagerly for occasions of combat. All that can be said is that different men carry on public business in different ways, to the great advantage of free assemblies, and that LORD SALISBURY'S mode of fighting for himself and his friends is often at least very effectual, and very enlivening in an atmosphere otherwise apt to be dull. The Peers and the public would lose greatly if LORD SALISBURY were not in his place to fight after his own fashion. What is important is that, after the fighting is over, the conduct and position of the House of Lords, and the treatment it receives from the Government, should be calmly examined and fairly judged. Violent invectives against the House of Lords, and violent panegyrics of it, are to be equally deprecated. The Government, whatever may have been its disposition previously, has not, we think, treated the House of Lords badly this Session. On the contrary, if it is to be blamed at all, it is for the too great servility it has displayed, and for the attitude of depressed inferiority it has assumed, in treating the House of Lords as the sole masters and arbiters of Law Reform. In many respects the House of Lords has appeared to advantage during the twelve months of which LORD SALISBURY spoke, and in some respects it has not appeared to advantage. The reproach involved in MR. GLADSTONE'S famous saying, that the Peers often behave like men up in a balloon, was not unmerited by a body which shot down on a wondering world the extraordinary device of the optional Ballot. LORD CAIRNS, again, who has now the field of law reform entirely to himself, may have judged prudently in keeping back his real intentions and plans, so as in due time to bring them forth for the delight and instruction of everybody; but he certainly did not give much indication, when he was crushing out the CHANCELLOR'S scheme of law reform, how he himself will fill up the gap. The only important debate in the Lords this Session, that on the Washington Treaty, was not up to the level of their traditional excellence on such questions. The truth seems to be, that the House of Lords has not lost weight or authority this Session, but neither has it gained; and that during an uneventful period of its history, it has been treated as well by the Government, and has had as little to complain of, as is possible when a Liberal Ministry rules with a Conservative majority in the Peers.

MEXICO.

THE death of JUAREZ is a misfortune to a country which has no more urgent want than the need of political stability. Even Mexicans probably respect a ruler who, with or without pretence of re-election, has retained power for half a generation. Nearly all Englishmen who have had a diplomatic or commercial knowledge of Mexico agree in attributing to the late PRESIDENT the rare quality of personal integrity. Although he was not indifferent to his own political aggrandizement, he seems not to have been open to pecuniary corruption. If he was cruel to his enemies, and offensively indifferent to international rights, it will be remembered that he was a full-blooded Indian, and that he was not worse than his rivals and predecessors, the MIRAMONS and SANTA ANNAS. It would be rash to found any preference for a Mexican faction on its title of Liberal; but perhaps the hostile clerical party is still more irreconcilably opposed to good government. The popularity which JUAREZ enjoyed in his later years was in a great measure earned by his determined resistance to the French invaders and to their Austrian nominee; nor is the unnecessary execution of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN regarded by patriotic Mexicans as a blunder or a crime. If there should hereafter be a Mexican history, the retreat of the foreigners from the country and the death of their chief will probably assume in the popular imagination heroic proportions. It will be unnecessary to record the real cause of the failure of the French experiment in the unforeseen collapse of the Southern Confederacy, and in the menacing attitude which the Federal Government was consequently enabled to assume. It will also be an insoluble problem whether the permanent establishment of the Empire might not have been the best method of redeeming the country from chronic and helpless anarchy. It is certain that the Emperor NAPOLEON was not justified in expending French revenues on a wanton and chimerical experi-

ment; and he committed an additional fault in entrusting the conduct of the enterprise to a coarse and unscrupulous soldier; but the Archduke MAXIMILIAN was a ruler of a higher order than an indigenous adventurer, and he brought with him the traditions of the highest European civilization. The Emperor NAPOLEON perhaps imposed upon himself when he announced his purpose of elevating the Latin race in the Western hemisphere. JUAREZ, who was Latin only in language, was naturally incapable of appreciating the benevolent intentions of the invader.

Since the death of MAXIMILIAN there have been no diplomatic relations between Mexico and the European Powers. Confident in recent success, and in inaccessible remoteness, JUAREZ affected to resent the recognition of the Empire, although he must have been well aware that England at least invariably acknowledges the existence of actual Governments. He may probably not have wished to be troubled by the presence of authorised observers and reporters of the condition of the Republic. The roads were infested by highwaymen; the treasury in one of the richest countries in the world was occasionally empty, and there were constant rumours of insurrections in the more distant provinces; yet there is reason to believe that industry and commerce had to a certain extent revived, and that the people were increasing in prosperity. Immediately before the death of the PRESIDENT a more than ordinarily serious rebellion in the Eastern States had been suppressed; and a contemporaneous intrigue of the clerical faction under the lead of the Chief-Justice TEJADA had simultaneously failed. JUAREZ had appointed a new Ministry, possessing, as it is said, unusual ability and influence, and on the whole the condition of Mexico seemed to be comparatively hopeful. It is strange that the unexpected death of the PRESIDENT is attributed only to natural causes; and it is well that Mexican politics are not complicated by suspicions of assassination. By the Constitution of the Republic the Chief-Justice succeeds to the vacant Presidency; but if TEJADA wishes to retain power he will probably be compelled to break with his clerical allies. The Liberals have proved by their maintenance of JUAREZ as President for many years that they are stronger than their adversaries; and it is not to be supposed that they will acquiesce in a political revolution arising from an accident. If it is true that the French Government proposes in consequence of the death of JUAREZ to renew diplomatic intercourse with Mexico, the new PRESIDENT may perhaps incur suspicion if he is too ready to encourage overtures of friendship. The French expedition and the scheme of the Empire were first suggested by MIRAMON, who was at that time the chief of the clerical party. There is not the smallest risk of a repetition of the Emperor NAPOLEON'S undertaking by the present or by any future French Government, but the people of Mexico are probably not well acquainted with the political condition of Europe.

The natural capabilities of Mexico are unsurpassed, but it is impossible to judge whether the population is competent to profit by its opportunities. The colonial administration of Spain was feeble and depressing, and the tedious war of independence produced no considerable leader or vigorous statesman. The Spanish race has degenerated in a foreign climate, and notwithstanding the comparative success of JUAREZ, it is still uncertain whether the descendants of the Aztecs and of their subject tribes are naturally capable of attaining a high civilization. The Spaniards in America have been less strongly prejudiced than some other nations against the inferior races around them. From the time of the conquest, descent in the female line from a Mexican family has never been regarded as discreditable. The customs and religion of Spain as well as its language have been not unwillingly adopted by the natives; and consequently there is no marked division of the inhabitants of the country into hostile classes. The neighbourhood and example of the great Republic in the North have probably not been advantageous to States which required a strong and independent Government. From the Rio Grande to Cape Horn the ex-colonists of Spain have proved themselves unfit for political obedience or command. The most powerful and best governed part of South America is the Empire of Brazil, which had the good fortune to possess by transplantation an ancient dynasty. If a civil war follows the death of JUAREZ, the consequent mischief and confusion will illustrate the advantages of hereditary succession which supersedes the opportunity of dispute. That the head of the Opposition should be the legitimate successor of the head of the Government is an anomalous arrangement; and it is only in settled communities that paradoxes and fictions are harmless and useful.

The danger of forcible annexation to the United States is probably less imminent than it appeared to be twenty years ago. The process by which Texas was first detached from the Mexican Republic, and then admitted into the American Union, seemed to admit of indefinite repetition. It was easy for American adventurers to settle in a sparsely inhabited foreign territory, and then to declare their independence; but one of the motives for acquiring Texas was the desire of extending the area of slavery, which for many years controlled the foreign policy of the United States. When California was added to the United States by an easy conquest, the Democrats and their Southern allies were disappointed by the refusal of the settlers to admit the institution of slavery. There is no longer any question of slavery between the United States and Mexico; and the vast territories which were acquired in the last war are still but thinly occupied. Prudent Americans fully understand that there is no room in their system for colonies or dependencies, and that their institutions, however convenient they may be for territorial expansion, are only suited to a tolerably homogeneous community. The Southern negroes, who have been but imperfectly assimilated, have no political tendencies except those which they copy from their neighbours and former masters. The Mexicans, on the other hand, if they were conquered, would be admitted into the Union with equal political rights, although their traditions and tendencies are those of Spaniards and of Catholics. The successful opposition which was offered to General GRANT's ill-judged project of annexing San Domingo was probably dictated by a wise reluctance to include in the Union an alien population. Six millions of Mexican citizens would be more unmanageable than a handful of island mulattoes. It is possible that the American Government may hereafter adopt the intermediate course of establishing a nominal or virtual protectorate in Mexico. The right of restraining adjacent anarchy is independent of international jurisprudence, and it is founded on an anterior national right. Having peremptorily forbidden the interference of Europe with the misgoverned States of the American continent, the predominant Power has assumed the responsibility of maintaining some kind of order in the Western world. The successor of JUAREZ will have the opportunity of proving whether foreign interference is necessary.

THE PRICE OF MEAT.

THE high price of meat is so serious an evil that wild and irrelevant projects for increasing the supply or diminishing the demand may be expected to receive a favourable hearing. To excited assemblages in the outskirts of Manchester the most obvious corrective appears to be the repeal of the Privy Council rules. Four thousand persons are said to have voted unanimously in favour of a resolution that the Government ought to abolish the restrictions on the importation of foreign cattle. About the same time Mr. FORSTER had to answer anxious inquiries in the House of Commons as to the precautions which his department may be taking against the threatened reappearance of the fatal disease in England. The plague on this occasion is approaching from the Baltic; and cargoes of diseased cattle have been shipped to Leith, to Hartlepool, and to one or two other Eastern ports. The Privy Council is on its guard; and, although Mr. FORSTER declines to prohibit importations from Holstein, he requires from the importer a guarantee, secured by a penalty of 1,000*l.*, that the cattle shall be really the produce of Holstein itself, and that they shall not merely have been landed in that country on their way from Cronstadt. The passionate demands of the Lancashire workmen would, if they were granted, have a suicidal effect. When a conflagration is raging in a city, it is a misfortune that it should be necessary to blow up buildings to leeward for the purpose of stopping the progress of the flames; but it would be a grievous error to be deterred from necessary measures of security by the protests of occupiers who fear to be left homeless. When the plague broke out in England five or six years ago, the best friends of the consumer of meat, as well as of the producer, were the local Associations which, in Aberdeenshire and in other districts, peremptorily stamped out the pestilence by the destruction of the infected cattle. The artisans of the towns may be excused for a suspicion that farmers and graziers on selfish grounds discourage foreign importation; but the public authorities have no more urgent duty than to prevent a contagion which might convert dearth into famine. At one of the meetings the persons present pledged themselves to dispense with the use of butcher's meat for a month; and they also wished that Parliament

should temporarily or permanently prohibit the consumption of veal and lamb. A further resolution that they would do their utmost to reduce the price of meat to 7*d.* per pound indicated a whimsical faith in the omnipotence of the popular will. Before public meetings were invented CANUTE's courtiers proposed that the King should regulate by his decree the flow of the tide. An earlier and wiser age recognized the inutility of an endeavour on the part of the ox to kick against the goad. No resolution of any meeting will procure for 7*d.* what is worth 10*d.* in the market.

It is possible that general abstinence from the flesh of immature animals might for the time tend to reduce the price of beef and mutton; but artificial interference with productive industry is not the way to make commodities cheap. If Essex farmers were prohibited by law from selling calves to London butchers, they might perhaps take to growing grain crops rather than to fattening oxen for sale. The uneducated or half-educated mind, even in the home of Free-trade, invariably jumps to the conclusion that economic derangements ought to be rectified by arbitrary legislation. A rise in the price of mutton will discourage more effectively than any Act of Parliament the excessive consumption of lamb. It is undeniably true that the flesh of the grown-up animal is more palatable and more nutritious than when it is intercepted in its progress to maturity. A general strike against the butchers would have the effect of rendering meat both scarcer and dearer. The poor and struggling members of the trade would, if the strike were general, probably be obliged to relinquish the business, and their wealthier competitors would consequently find additional facility for recouping themselves for intermediate loss and inconvenience by an additional percentage on their prices. The further rise of price will be partially, but permanently, checked by the enforced frugality of the classes who will be compelled to diminish their consumption of meat. One of the most remarkable results of the manufacturing prosperity of the last five-and-twenty years has been the increased demand, not merely for butcher's meat, but for the most expensive joints, among highly-paid workmen. Artisans have, like other persons, an undoubted right to spend their incomes as they choose; and in many instances they have thought fit to convert high wages into nutritious dinners. During the same time the domestic supply of meat has been largely increased, not only by the maintenance of larger heads of stock, but by improvements in breeding and feeding which bring sheep and cattle earlier into the market. All restrictions, except for sanitary purposes, on the importation of cattle have long since been absolutely abolished; and the trade in dead meat, which has been rendered possible by the facilities of railway transit, has largely increased the available supply of the town population. Nevertheless the demand has advanced more rapidly than the supply, and the present dearth results partly from increased consumption, partly from the fall in the value of gold, and in some degree from the succession of hot and dry summers from 1867 to 1870. There is not the smallest use in passing votes of censure on natural operations.

It must be allowed that Manchester workmen are wiser than some members of Parliament, inasmuch as they attribute the evil of which they complain to a real though inadequate and unavoidable cause. The consumption of lamb and veal is a *vera causa* of the scarcity of mutton and beef. It is also true that restrictions on the importation of foreign cattle, though they may provide ample compensation for their direct operation, necessarily diminish the supply. Mr. JAMES HOWARD and Mr. WREN HOSKYNs, when they take the opportunity of airing their favourite theories on land tenure, are more remote from the truth as to the price of meat than the mechanics who meet at Pendleton and Accrington. The state of public business fortunately prevented Mr. HOWARD from proceeding with a notice for inquiry into the relation between the high price of meat and the insecurity of the tenant farmers' capital; and Mr. WREN HOSKYNs was not less happily rendered unable to show that fat cattle would be cheaper, if, according to the Irish precedent, a part of the property of the landowner were to be transferred by purchase to the occupier. Not a single beast in England is less fat, and not a single flock is less numerous, because the land belongs to the persons who have inherited or bought it, and not to the farmer who has contracted to occupy it. It is not true that the capital of tenant farmers is insecure; or, if any change in the legal tenure of land is expedient, the question ought to be dispassionately considered without reference to any accidental prejudice which may arise from the present state of the meat market. Mr. HOSKYNs, as a skilful and scientific farmer,

knows perfectly well that no power conferred on a tenant of purchasing an absolute interest in the land could tend to cheapen beef or mutton; and it is highly undesirable to suggest to irritated multitudes the erroneous belief that the condition of landed property has anything to do with their sufferings. The cultivation of antipathies between different classes is not likely to be neglected by professed agitators and demagogues. No popular orator will remind a public meeting of workmen that the body to which they belong is at the present moment busily engaged in exertions to increase the cost of all articles of consumption. It is true that Trade Unions have not yet caused a rise in the price of butcher's meat, but when their organization is adopted by farm-labourers, a new element will be introduced into the expense of all agricultural productions.

Some of the speakers at Pendleton spoke with reason of the rise in the price of coal as a grave misfortune, yet there was probably not a workman present who had not sympathized with the successful efforts of the colliers to obtain higher wages and shorter hours of labour. The additional payment has incidentally diminished the efficiency of labour; and the colliers themselves openly avow their intention of stinting the supply for the express purpose of keeping up prices. The artificial scarcity has raised the price not only of coal, but of iron, and of every fabric which is produced by steam power; and the iron-workers and other operatives in turn are demanding higher wages and shorter hours. Of the reckless gratification which dissatisfied workmen and demagogues derive from the injuries which they inflict on the community, a striking illustration was furnished at a recent meeting of malcontent railway servants. Mr. BAXTER LANGLEY, who presided, is reported to have boasted that there was in consequence of the partial strike a great block of goods on the London and North-Western Railway; and that many tons of perishable food had to be sent down to Willesden to be buried. The Secretary added that the Company had lost 70,000*l.* by the non-delivery of meat. If the railway freight formed a quarter of the whole price, it would follow, supposing the statement had been true, that two hundred and eighty thousand pounds' worth of butcher's meat had been destroyed in two or three days through the action of the railway servants. It is shocking to find that even an angry mob can applaud the waste of an amount of wholesome food which would have provided a day's consumption for the whole of London; and a still graver feeling is caused by the complicity of those who are not workmen, but possible candidates for metropolitan boroughs. Mr. BAXTER LANGLEY's satisfaction in the supposed burying of many tons of meat at Willesden may be commended to the attention of the workmen who met at Pendleton and Accrington. It happily appears from the statement of the Secretary of the London and North-Western Company that the railway servants and their advisers were misled by their too ardent wishes. When labour is engaged in a general conspiracy against consumers, it is not surprising that prices should rise.

FRANCE.

AS M. THIERS draws near to the safe haven of a prorogation, the storms which have lately been raging round him seem to die away. The season of the year has had something to do with this subsidence of the waters. A Legislature cannot declare that it has no confidence in the Executive, and then at once adjourn for three or four months. If it is bent upon taking the government out of the hands in which it is now placed, it must at least go on sitting until it has determined to whom the government shall be committed for the future. But to go on sitting during August and September involves a sacrifice of personal comfort which even patriots can hardly be expected to make. The obvious alternative is to allow the differences which have divided the Conservative party from the President to slumber until the return of winter makes life at Versailles again agreeable. A quarrel, it has been truly remarked, can be taken up at any time, but an autumn spent in political discussion is an autumn entirely lost. For the present, therefore, all thought of defining the Bordeaux compact has been given up. Considering the peculiar vagueness of the arrangement which goes by this name, nothing has been lost by this abandonment. The Bordeaux compact was not only an understanding which was never reduced to paper; it was an understanding the parties to which never went so far as to compare notes upon what it was they understood. It was a compact in the sense in which the cry of all hands to the pumps is a compact. The ship was sinking, and men of all parties laid aside their

special views and placed themselves at M. THIERS's disposal, in order not to embarrass one another in the common effort to keep afloat. In so far as this compact is still existing, it is so from the continuance of the state of affairs which gave it birth. The indemnity has still to be paid off; the army of occupation has still to be got out of the country. Men of all parties have to choose now, as they had to choose then, between letting M. THIERS do the work and finding some one else to do it. If they were agreed upon the impossibility of the latter course in the spring of 1871, there is nothing to lead them to a different conclusion in the summer of 1872. It is true that a new orator has shown himself in the Assembly, and that many, perhaps a majority, of the deputies would be glad to see M. D'AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER President instead of M. THIERS. But it does not follow that even those in whom this feeling is strongest would like to see it reduced to action. M. D'AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER has not negotiated a loan of 140 millions which has been covered twelve times over. He does not command the confidence of moderate Republicans and the acquiescence of extreme Republicans. Even if he has the stuff to make a good party Minister, he would not be the accepted ruler of France. That the Bordeaux compact should enure to the benefit of one or the other party in the country was inevitable; that it should enure to the benefit of the party with whose name the existing Government is identified was highly probable. But unless the Republicans are unfairly in possession, the Right have no ground for complaint. A Government in possession must be strengthened by any understanding which leaves it in possession. If the Right wish to repudiate this interpretation of what took place at Bordeaux, their obvious course is to turn out the Government in possession. It is clear that they have abandoned all thought of doing this, and are going to enjoy the vacation with M. THIERS still firmly planted on their shoulders.

But if the Right have postponed their darling visions to the combined requirements of the weather and politics, they have taken care to show that they have learnt no more wisdom than was imperatively demanded by the day's requirements. In the sitting of Monday last they were just as excited and just as unreasonable as they were before they had determined to put up with M. THIERS from inability to provide him with a successor. The object of their attack was M. GAMBETTA, and the ground on which it was rested was his alleged participation in fraudulent contracts during the war. A certain M. NAQUET, a chemist of some eminence, but avowedly ignorant of military matters, was appointed a member of a Committee for studying the best means of defending the country. In this capacity he is charged with having advised the purchase of certain batteries at 75,000 francs each, when M. LECESNE, another agent of the Government, offered to get them for 35,000 francs. It is not denied that the larger of these two sums was given, or that M. LECESNE did assert that he could get the same guns for the smaller sum. But M. NAQUET and M. GAMBETTA both maintain that they had doubts whether M. LECESNE was sufficiently in earnest in the matter. He was too much of a man of business. He thought too much of the price at which weapons could be got, and too little of the paramount necessity of getting weapons at any price. M. GAMBETTA adds that he did not believe the tender of 35,000 francs to be serious, and consequently he was not disposed to waste precious time in higgling over it. This account of the affair is at all events perfectly reasonable. The one object which M. GAMBETTA and his subordinates had before their eyes was to go on fighting as hard and as long as they could. No doubt men administering affairs in this spirit would often be told by men of cooler temper that they were paying too much for the arms which they were buying on all sides. No doubt it would often be pointed out to them that, if they would only commission such or such a person to look out for a good bargain, he would be able to get as good arms as they were buying at less than half the price. It is only the old story—so familiar to every one who has ever furnished a house—that buying in a hurry means buying at a disadvantage; and that, if the purchaser will only wait until he sees a good opportunity, he will get a great deal more for his money. But M. GAMBETTA had no choice open to him. It was essential, if he was to buy at all, that he should buy in a hurry. To wait for a favourable opportunity would have been to wait until there was no object in buying either well or ill. He may have been wrong of course in appointing M. NAQUET a member of the Committee, and he and M. NAQUET may have been wrong in distrusting the energy of M. LECESNE. But these were at most errors of judgment, and there seems to be no evidence to sustain the conclusion, in itself so im-

menably improbable, that either one or the other had any corrupt motive for what they did.

Notwithstanding this, the Right have had the folly to treat the contracts made under the Government of National Defence as similar in kind to those made under the Empire. They have shut their eyes to the difference there is between contracts entered into in cold blood, when there was no immediate cause for haste, and contracts entered into in the very crisis of a war, when every moment had its value, and victory or defeat might turn upon the troops getting their arms a few hours sooner or later. Caution and comparison were duties in the former case, but they would have been crimes in the latter. The business of the War Department under the Empire was to get the largest possible return for the money voted, to make the French army all that those who paid for it intended and supposed it to be. The business of the War Department under the Government of National Defence was to get whatever return for their money they could get quickest, to make the French army not what those who paid for it wished it to be, but what it was possible to make it under the circumstances. No price that could have been asked for arms would have justified M. GAMBETTA in refusing to buy them so long as he had the money to pay for them, and there were none to be got cheaper in the same space of time. In their eagerness to involve the Republic in the disgrace which has overtaken the Empire, the Right have overlooked all this. They have cause enough to dislike and fear M. GAMBETTA, but they might at all events have had the wit to see that such blind hatred as theirs can only do him service. If they had declared that, in spite of much that was unintelligible to them in the contracts made by his authority, they declined to call him to account for what he had done in defending France against the invader, they might have gained credit for a patriotic superiority to party passion. But to class him with NAPOLEON III., as one of their speakers did on Monday, to say that now that justice had been done on the authors of the war it remained to do justice on those who continued the war, is to exhibit M. GAMBETTA to the country in the light in which he most desires to be seen. The peasantry and the soldiers know how M. GAMBETTA fought on to the last, how untiring was his resolution, how unceasing his energy. Above and beside all considerations of prudence and economy this great fact remains, and the Right could not possibly have done a worse thing for themselves than to formally dissociate themselves from all that was heroic in the war, and to make over to the Left whatever credit France has gained in Europe from the campaign on the Loire. A wiser spirit had watched over the preparation of the resolution upon which the debate turned. The Committee had simply proposed that their Report should be referred to the departments of Justice, War, and Finance, and this the whole Assembly could have supported. But M. D'AUDRIFFET-PASQUIER could not refrain from saying that this reference meant censure, though it expressed none, and upon this issue half the Assembly refused to vote. The most advanced Republican could not have wished the Session to end in a manner more disastrous for the Right, or more injurious to M. D'AUDRIFFET-PASQUIER's claim to the post of Conservative leader.

APPELLATE JURISDICTION.

THE Report of the Lords' Committee on the singular jurisdiction exercised by their House and by the Judicial Committee is more interesting as a contribution to the speculative literature of the subject than as the probable basis of any actual reform. There is unfortunately a sort of truth in the SOLICITOR-GENERAL's complaint that just now law reforms are certain to be elbowd out of existence by the pressure of political measures in which the public, or the party, or the Cabinet, take considerably more interest than they feel in the delays, expenses, and disappointments of suitors to the House of Lords. But this is not quite an exhaustive view of the subject, or we should never have any law reforms at all. In times of movement and of an almost revolutionary spirit such as those in which the traditional claims of the Irish Church and the hard rights of Irish landlords could be swept away at the bidding of a Minister, political questions are necessarily of a most absorbing character, and yet the chances of carrying a strong measure of legal reconstruction were incomparably greater than they are now that the so-called Conservative reaction has set in. Notwithstanding the rivalry of more exciting political changes, a more dexterous helmsman than the LORD CHANCELLOR might have

brought his cargo of law reforms safely into port on the crest of the wave which two years ago was big enough to roll over all petty obstacles; but Liberal fervour has greatly subsided, and what Mr. GLADSTONE calls progress and Mr. DISRAELI (out of office) calls subversion, sacrilege, confiscation, and the like, is decidedly out of fashion for the moment in legal as in other matters. The excitement involved in discussing useful Bills for regulating mines and abating nuisances can scarcely be so absorbing as to blind men who would otherwise be enthusiastic to the paramount importance of Law Reform. The real difficulty is that you never can get up sufficient interest in the public to make law Bills a good showy investment for a Ministry that desires popularity, except during those spasmodic periods through which our political world passes at intervals almost as regular as those which plunge the world of commerce into alternate fits of inflation and panic. There is no likelihood for some years to come of a favourable time for the establishment of large reforms in our judicature or our laws; and we doubt much whether the *vis inertiae* of Parliament would not be too much at present even for such rather petty modifications of existing anomalies as the Lords' Committee have recommended. And yet they would not be without their value, however much one may be disposed to smile at the highly conservative, though perhaps not wholly useless, instinct which led the Committee to frame a scheme under which the ghost of a sham House of Lords and the flavour of an extinct Committee of Privy Council would still be allowed to haunt the purlieus of an ordinary tribunal of paid Judges absolutely supreme over Peers and Privy Councillors alike.

The keenest reformers may be satisfied in this country if they get the realities they demand, though it may please the constituted authorities to pretend that they are conceding nothing. The first condition of any reform of the Appellate Courts is that the jurisdiction should be exercised by an adequate Court of adequately paid professional Judges, in place of the almost amateur judicial body which acts in the name of the House of Lords. In principle the Peers' Committee are prepared to accept this great change, but they stipulate that when the august Appellate Tribunal shall have pronounced judgment, the House of Lords shall be not only allowed, but required, to pretend that a decision with which they have had absolutely nothing to do, and which they are not to be suffered to alter in the minutest particular, is an order of their own House, and to ticket, and label, and docket, and enrol it accordingly, with all due solemnity. If learned and noble Lords like this kind of playing at being Judges, there is no reason why any one should object, and the project will of course satisfy and delight the strange typical Scotsman who is always quoted as incapable of believing that a paid lawyer will decide a case as well as an unpaid peer. Colonial aborigines will also be quite easy in their minds when they learn that the Judges of the new Court will first go through the mysterious ceremony of being constituted members of the Privy Council. All these parts of the proposal may be accepted as perfectly innocuous even by those who attach no importance to them; but the notion of summoning the members of the Court to the House of Lords, with an express prohibition to sit or vote as peers, may be highly distasteful to lawyers whose training would make them very reluctant to occupy a false position.

Apart from this elaborate trifling, the scheme is in its essence satisfactory except in one respect. It is proposed to constitute a tribunal by selection, so far as the paid members are concerned, from the ranks of the judicial body, and not from lawyers promoted solely for the purpose of giving a qualification. It is further proposed to offer salaries of 7,000*l.* a year, which will be sufficient, and not, we think, more than sufficient, to give the Government the pick of the Equity and Common Law Bench. So far the Lords are liberally disposed enough to avoid the rock on which the last Act came to grief. But there still remains a little blight of parsimony which would go far to shipwreck the whole scheme. The number of paid Judges is proposed to be limited to four, and the Court will have to do all the work hitherto done by the Judicial Committee, in addition to all that the House of Lords has despatched. Moreover the amount of this labour has up to the present time been kept down by the enormous and unjustifiable expense and delay which have frightened nine out of every ten suitors who have felt themselves aggrieved from resorting to the ultimate tribunal. Practically it is not the cases which involve the most important and disputed points of law that come, as they ought to come, before the House of Lords or the Privy Council, but just those where an enormous amount of money happens to be involved, or

where the unsuccessful suitor below is exceptionally wealthy and litigious. If these obstacles to appeals were removed, it is probable that two Courts constantly sitting would be hard pressed to keep down arrears, or, in other words, the projected Court would always, or almost always, be compelled to sit in two divisions. For this purpose two Judges for each division would not be a satisfactory quota, even with the occasional aid of the Lord Chancellor; and to fill up the Court as is proposed with ex-Chancellors and Law Lords, sitting gratuitously, and perhaps grudgingly, beside salaried colleagues, will not be a desirable way of saving a few thousand pounds. The truth is that the system of gratuitous judging is going dead. Ex-Chancellors act as paid arbitrators in preference to sitting on House of Lords appeals, and no one blames them for preferring paid to unpaid service. There was something grand about the now moribund method of relying on the gratuitous patriotism of retired Judges for work which certainly deserves payment at least as much as any other form of public service; but now that this time-honoured practice is seen to be worn out, it seems to us idle to look to it for the purpose of supplementing the defects of a tribunal constituted on the opposite theory. If a paid tribunal is needed for the administration of justice in the last resort, it should be paid altogether, and, if so, the number of Judges must be more considerable than the Lords' Committee are willing to allow. This is a defect which may be easily remedied by adding three or four more salaries of 7,000*l.*; and if ever the proposals of the Committee find shape in a Bill, Parliament will have to consider whether this additional expense is too much to bear for the sake of establishing a thoroughly sound Court of Appeal. If the game is not thought worth the candle, the only alternative will be to go on with the existing arrangements long enough to make it so.

MR. CATACAZY AND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

SOME months have passed since the American Government published a surprising and amusing account of the reasons which induced the PRESIDENT to demand the recall of the late Russian Minister. The offending diplomatist was accused of having interfered in the domestic politics of the United States, of having annoyed Senators and Representatives by his importunity, of having intrigued against the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington, and of having libelled the PRESIDENT and the SECRETARY OF STATE in the newspapers. It seemed strange that such charges, whether they were well founded or erroneous, should be made public; but it was satisfactory to be assured that the amenities of American diplomacy were not exclusively applied to intercourse with England. Although no political importance attaches to the transaction, those who are curious in the minor details of current history ought to complete their information by reading a French pamphlet in which MR. CATACAZY gives his own version of his relations with the American Government. Some of his statements incidentally illustrate the spirit in which American claims against foreign Governments are habitually prosecuted, and the singular freedom of some American functionaries from European restraints. According to MR. CATACAZY's account, a merchant captain named PERKINS had, during the Crimean war, formed a provisional contract, which was never executed, for the sale of a number of muskets to the Russian Government. He afterwards accepted in satisfaction of his claim a sum of 40*l.*, having attempted in vain previously to dispose of it for 20*l.* After the death of PERKINS his widow sold his supposed rights for a trifling sum to a lawyer named STEWART, who proceeded to form a Joint-Stock Company to pursue the claim, with a nominal capital of 160,000*l.*, furnishing a precedent for the recent enterprise of the Tichborne Bonds. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the more famous *Alabama* Claims have been subjected to a similar financial operation. The Government of the United States from time to time presented the claims of STEWART and his Company to the Russian Government and to its Minister at Washington, and finally they proposed to submit the question to arbitration. A Russian Committee of which MR. CATACAZY was a member reported that the claims were baseless and fraudulent; and Prince GORTCHAKOFF consequently declined any further discussion of the matter. On MR. CATACAZY's arrival at Washington he received a personal application from STEWART, and from his accredited agent, TASSISTRO. STEWART informed the Russian Minister that the PRESIDENT's brother-in-law, Judge DENT, was interested in the claim; and that, if

they were refused satisfaction, the PERKINS party would "find" means to break MR. CATACAZY's neck." The phrase is not idiomatic; and yet it is difficult to assume that it can have been invented or imagined by a foreigner.

Some time afterwards the same Judge DENT who was said to be a shareholder in the PERKINS Company communicated to the PRESIDENT some spurious despatches which were supposed to have been exchanged between MR. CATACAZY and General IGNATIEFF, who, according to a false rumour circulated in the newspapers, was believed to have succeeded Prince GORTCHAKOFF as Chancellor of the Empire. In these remarkable documents, which were evidently forged by some American ignorant of Russian forms, the EMPEROR was "called by his own Envoy "our Czar," and the CHANCELLOR bore the title of Prime Minister. The principal despatch contained a rude reproach to MR. CATACAZY for not having paid over a sum which was supposed to have been entrusted to him for the payment of the PERKINS claimants. MR. HAMILTON FISH, with marvellous credulity, and in entire disregard of the irregular manner in which the documents must have been procured if they had been genuine, mentioned them to MR. CATACAZY with the remark that they contained grave imputations on his character. On the indignant denial of the Russian Minister of the authenticity of the despatches, MR. FISH refused to inquire into the origin of the fraud; and he afterwards asserted that the papers had been obtained from MR. BODISCO, the Russian Secretary of Legation. It is unnecessary to add that MR. BODISCO utterly denied the accusation; and it is surprising that MR. FISH could have attributed to any Russian the absurdity of describing his Sovereign in an official despatch as "our Czar." There was no doubt that the papers had been handed to DENT by STEWART's associate TASSISTRO; and STEWART himself avowed in a published letter his complicity in the transaction. It is well known that the PRESIDENT is not lucky in his cousins and brothers-in-law; and if Judge DENT had been an American ARISTIDES, it seems strange that he should, without the privacy of the SECRETARY OF STATE, be the medium of transmitting to the PRESIDENT documents which purported to have been taken by fraud or by theft from the archives of a Foreign Legation. MR. SUMNER in his late speech denounced General GRANT as a would-be despot on less plausible grounds.

An episode now occurred which MR. CATACAZY carefully verifies by a facsimile of MR. HAMILTON FISH's letter. The Russian Minister had been directed to buy a site for the erection of an Orthodox church, and it happened that MR. FISH had a piece of land which was, in the judgment of the owner, suitable for the purpose. In a friendly letter he proposed to sell the ground for 8,000*l.*, adding that by dispensing with the aid of a land agent they might save some hundreds of dollars. MR. CATACAZY declined the offer, having, as he asserts, ascertained by a professional valuation that the land was not worth half of MR. FISH's sanguine estimate. About the same time MR. CASSIUS CLAY, formerly American Minister at St. Petersburg, wrote to MR. CATACAZY to express his opinion that the PERKINS claims, which he had himself been instructed to urge upon the Russian Government, had not the smallest legal foundation. MR. CLAY added that "the conduct of the business during eight years by the ex-Secretary of State, Mr. SEWARD, and "his assistants did no honour to the American name." MR. CLAY received his appointment from MR. SEWARD, and served under him during the whole or the greater part of his term of office. That a diplomatic agent should publicly denounce to a foreigner the policy of his own immediate official superior is an American innovation on the practice of civilized States. This is the same MR. CLAY who once informed MR. SEWARD in a formal despatch that the Emperor of RUSSIA had received him graciously and had conversed with him in "excellent American." It is not less characteristic of MR. CATACAZY's correspondent that, after his appointment as Minister to Russia, he made a violent speech against England at a public meeting in Paris. In his reply to MR. CLAY, MR. CATACAZY judiciously guarded himself against the supposition that he might approve of the attack on MR. SEWARD. His instructions from the EMPEROR were, as he says, to maintain friendly relations with eminent Americans of all parties; and he professes to have replied in the same spirit to a remonstrance addressed to him by MR. FISH for maintaining friendly relations with MR. SUMNER, who, as the SECRETARY OF STATE asserted, was "a bad man and a "madman, and had lost his credit in the country." MR. CATACAZY with perfect propriety replied that MR. SUMNER was Chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, and

that he could not withhold from him the courtesies which were both officially and personally his due.

To the charge of having attempted to prevent the negotiation of the Washington Treaty Mr. CATACAZY offers a flat denial; and he explains his own conduct and the instructions of his Government by republishing an obviously genuine report, contained in a despatch to Prince GORTCHAKOFF, of a conversation with an American statesman, who may perhaps be Mr. HAMILTON FISH himself, on the PRESIDENT's offensive message to Congress in December 1869:—"Eh bien ! me dit 'M. X., 'que pensez-vous du Message concernant l'Angleterre ? ' Nous n'y sommes pas allés de main morte à l'égard de la superbe Albion. J'espère qu'on en sera content à Saint-Petersbourg, où l'on doit détester l'Angleterre autant que chez nous." In England statesmen in Parliament, at the Mansion House, and elsewhere, always affect to believe that the Americans reciprocate the friendly feeling which is in England both entertained and habitually expressed. Mr. FISH, or M. X., in his candid utterance of national hatred, only follows the precedents furnished by Mr. CALHOUN a generation ago, and by Mr. DALLAS on the eve of the Civil War. Only a year or two before the people of the Northern States were roused to indignation by the supposed absence of English sympathy, their Minister in an official despatch spoke of England as an enemy. Mr. CATACAZY, instead of approving of the language of the Message, remarked that the extravagance of the *Alabama* Claims proved even to those who were best disposed to the United States that the American Government was seeking, not compensation, but a ground of quarrel. "Yes," his interlocutor replied, "the amount of our bill is rather large, but it is good policy to ask too much that one may get enough." No comment which has been made on the Claims and on the subsequent negotiations is more just or more instructive. Mr. CATACAZY, after his experience of the PERKINS claims, was fully qualified to appreciate the elevated policy of the American Government. He proceeded to declare that the Russian Government detested no one, and that he believed that a conflict between England and the United States would be a calamity to the world. If Russian statesmen entertained less purely benevolent intentions, they would not proclaim their malignant designs with American candour. In answer to the despatch the CHANCELLOR of the EMPIRE communicated to the Minister his entire satisfaction with the language which he had used. Mr. CATACAZY of course repudiates the libellous articles which were imputed to him by Mr. FISH; and he produces letters from the editors of several journals to deny that he had ever communicated to them any private information. It is certain that the charges were not believed by the Russian Government; but it is unnecessary to enter into the quarrel between Mr. CATACAZY and Mr. FISH. The undisputed and collateral portions of his statements are to uninterested bystanders the most instructive.

THE ORLEANS FAMILY.

A GREAT blow has fallen on the ORLEANS family, and has struck with its main force the most eminent of living BOURBONS. The Duke of AUMALE has lost his only surviving son. Six years ago a sudden illness carried off his eldest son. Then his wife was taken from him; and now the one hope of his house has been taken away. The Duke of GUISE, a most promising boy of seventeen, has died of scarlet fever. It is impossible that such a calamity, happening to such a man as the Duke of AUMALE, should not have awakened the liveliest sympathy and regret. The QUEEN has written to claim the prerogative of suffering, and the right to weep with those who weep. She has suffered as a wife, and last winter was nearly suffering as a mother. She may therefore venture, not only as a Queen, but as a woman, to enter into the privacy of grief, and assure a sufferer that she suffers with him. Few men indeed have been more severely tried, or have led a more blameless or noble life, than the Duke of AUMALE. A childless widower, he can call to mind with mournful satisfaction that he was long the centre of family happiness. He devoted all the powers of his mind and the energy of his character to making his boys worthy of the high position to which they had been born. They might or might not be recalled from exile to honour in their country, from comparative obscurity to the discharge of high duties. He was determined that they should be equal to either fortune, and that they should at least be patterns of educated, high-minded French gentlemen. All that severe and assiduous and various training could

do for them was done. They were made to work as if their fortunes depended on their exertions. Everything that princes could need to know in adverse or in prosperous circumstances was taught them. It has been suggested that they were perhaps a little over-trained, and that their early deaths may be in part attributed to the strain put on their constitution and their nerves. No one except those intimately acquainted with every detail of their family history can say whether this was so or not. But at any rate their training was but a part of the general training to which their generation of the ORLEANS family was subjected. The grandchildren of LOUIS-PHILIPPE have been all brought up with the notion sedulously wrought into their minds that they must strive to attain all the highest things that it was in them to attain. The heir of the ORLEANS family and his brother were trained as severely and as thoroughly as the sons of the Duke of AUMALE, and eagerly seized the first opportunity in their power to taste the experience of active life, and show themselves soldiers worthy of France. They offered their services to the armies of the Northern States in the American Civil War, and although some exception may justly be taken to such a course, and it is hard to see why French princes should help to kill Southern planters in order to learn the art of war, still it must be owned that they acted in accordance with the standard accepted by their countrymen, and were but learning the first art of gentlemen in the only way open to them. The younger members of the ORLEANS family are a highly educated, courageous, prudent, reflective set of young people, and cannot fail in some shape or other to be of great service to France, if France will but allow them. As to the older generation, the Duke of AUMALE is to English eyes their representative, and to Englishmen all praise of the Duke of AUMALE seems wholly superfluous.

The Duke, in the last few days of his mourning and sadness, is reported to have said that all ambition is now over for him, but that it will be found that he will never be deaf if his country calls on him to help her. This naturally suggests the thought, what is the place of the ORLEANS family in France, and what are the real services they can render her? A year and a half ago it seemed as if the best service they could render her would be to supply her with the machinery of Constitutional government. The Empire was at an end, Europe could not believe that France, even in its hour of depression, would sink so low as to welcome HENRY V. and his priests and his White Flag, and a Republic without Republicans seemed even for France an impossible sort of government. Something stable, something respectable, something more or less English seemed desirable, and the Count of PARIS and his near relatives appeared destined to furnish what was required. But time has rolled along, and a Parliamentary Government under an ORLEANS Prince was not found to have the attraction for France that had been anticipated. The Count of CHAMBORD would not hear of a fusion, and the Monarchists were split into two camps. The ORLEANS Princes were at once cautious and honourable, and would not risk civil war or even distraction and bitter jealousies in the country for the sake of dynastic gain. The Princes have, since they were admitted to take their places in the Assembly, carefully abstained from even the appearance of seeking to be prominent and to form a faction of their own. They scarcely ever speak, and even on important questions they often refrain from voting. If they do vote, they follow their own opinions, and agree or differ just as private gentlemen might do. In the important division a few days ago on the taxes on raw materials, the Prince of JOINVILLE voted with, and the Duke of AUMALE voted against, the Government. They have mixed themselves up with no party, and have allowed themselves to be the tools of no adventurers or partisans. Accepting the order of things which they find established, they have accepted it in all honesty without a thought of intrigue or a wish to control men and events to their profit. Their ambition has been the humble ambition to be quiet, honourable, and useful. At first they were despised and ridiculed for this. They were derided as adventurers who, having a throne open to them, feared to mount it. Gradually justice has been done them, and it has been recognized that they really meant what they said, and, being the first of Frenchmen, had no other wish than to be the first in doing service to France.

But it must be owned that it is not only the virtue, or forbearance, or tact of the ORLEANS Princes that has kept them in the background. It is clear that France, at any rate at present, does not want Parliamentary government or languish for a Constitutional king. To most Frenchmen such a régime seems a state of politics in which there is no fun,

nothing to admire, nothing to take part in. The French like the two things to which Parliamentary government is most adverse—the development of what they call logical principles, the following out, that is, of ideas or prejudices without compromise, and personal government. They like the romance of Legitimism, and they like the romance of Republicanism. They also like to follow the fortunes and admire the audacity and success of the great THIERS and the great GAMBETTA, just as for twenty years they loved to sun themselves in the splendours of the Second Empire. The story of the triumph of M. THIERS over the Assembly is to them really interesting—a better story than is to be found in most novels. The steps by which the *fou furieux* of Bordeaux has raised himself to be the henchman of M. THIERS, and his probable successor, offer an interest scarcely less melodramatic. By the side of careers and incidents so glowing and full-coloured the mild wisdom of Orleanism and government by Ministries under the unseen presidency of a shadowy ruler seem pale and unattractive. The French, so far as appears at present, do not want the article which the ORLEANS Princes have to offer them. They would not care in their present excited state to open a second volume of the tame history of LOUIS-PHILIPPE. But to say this is not at all to say that the sons and grandsons of LOUIS-PHILIPPE are debarred from a career in which they may render very signal service to their country. What France needs above all things is healthy departmental action—centres, if the term may be allowed, of decentralization—men of honour, modesty, high feeling, and high training to lead local efforts and inspire local opinion. Both parties now declare that they must look to the meetings of the Councils-General in the autumn to show them what is the true feeling of France. The provinces are to speak through the leading men of the provinces, and any one who has read the recently published correspondence of TOCQUEVILLE will recognize that, even under the reign of equality, men who by birth, by possessions, by high character, and by sober patriotism are fitted to lead provincial opinion in France do lead it. Among such men the ORLEANS Princes, and especially the Duke of AUMALE, who is the President of a Council-General, are fitted to take the foremost place. It is there that they will reap the fruit of their entire honesty and of their acknowledged abstinence from all cabal and conspiracy. They are among the wealthiest, and, beyond rivalry, they are the highest born amongst Frenchmen. If, as seems best for France, a Conservative Republic is to be definitively established, they can do more than any other men to make this a Republic of a high type and worthy aims. This may not seem a very great part for the descendants of so many ancient kings to play; but it is an honest and a manly and a useful part; and if they play it well, they may, when each in their turn they shall be called on to tread the solemn path on which their young relative has just journeyed, find it as satisfactory a one to have played as any that could have been marked out for them.

MR. AYRTON AND DR. HOOKER.

THE question which has been raised as to Mr. AYRTON's treatment of Dr. HOOKER appears to have passed beyond the limits of a mere personal controversy. Mr. AYRTON's defence is substantially a plea of justification. He admits the accuracy of Dr. HOOKER's charges, but denies that they furnish any ground for complaint. This view has, to a certain extent, been endorsed by the Treasury, and presumably by the Cabinet, and it opens up a number of important points as to the relations which ought to subsist between Parliamentary officials and the permanent heads of departments, the right of the latter to protection against the rudeness or persecution of their political superiors, and the general etiquette and discipline of the public service. Mr. AYRTON boasts that since he has been in office he has "confined his writing to the exigencies of current public business, and desired to avoid 'using business for the purpose of writing.'" All his written communications have therefore been as brief as possible; but this description will hardly apply to his Memorandum on the management of Kew Gardens, which he has spun out with industrious elaboration, wrapping up the incidents of a few months in a voluminous historical narrative which extends over six or seven years, and burying the whole under a mass of odds and ends of correspondence, for the most part trivial and irrelevant, and without order, index, or explanation. A number of letters and memoranda are printed twice over, while other papers, which from the allusions made to them may be conjectured to be of some importance, are un-

accountably omitted. Not content with plunging into the past, the First Commissioner also projects himself into the future, and speculates on the annexation of Kew as a kind of country house to South Kensington. It is difficult to imagine anything more wantonly unfair or unwarrantable than the introduction into this correspondence of Professor OWEN's letter controverting Dr. HOOKER's evidence before the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction. Except on one supposition, which we shall presently notice, the letter has nothing whatever to do with the questions between Mr. AYRTON and Dr. HOOKER, and the evidence to which it is a rejoinder will not, we suppose, be published for some time to come. Mr. AYRTON flatters himself that in this remarkable Memorandum he has "disentangled the science of botany and the art and practice of horticulture from occurrences which have happened in the course of business"; and it appears to him "easy to conduct the science of botany and the art of horticulture, without recurring again and again to little official omissions, whether they have arisen from haste, zeal, or inadvertence." Mr. AYRTON's opinion of market-gardeners is already known, and perhaps he is disposed to accept the definition of botany as the business of "attaching barbarous binomials to foreign weeds." In any case he is evidently surprised that the sort of people who grow or catalogue plants should require to be treated to any of the courtesies which are usual between gentlemen. He has already "abolished letter-writing, and substituted official 'memoranda' for the ordinary business of his office; and it would seem to be his ambition to strip official intercourse of everything in the nature of personal civility or respect. Orders are to be given in the sharpest and curtest form; and, above all, the heads of departments are to be kept in their places, and made to understand that "the First Commissioner cannot admit that the efficient maintenance of Kew Gardens, or of any other service under the department, depends upon the continued official employment of any one of its officers"; in other words, it is to be energetically and unceasingly impressed on them that they are mere ciphers in the administration of the department, and that any importance they may for the moment possess is altogether derived from their relation to the First Commissioner.

Mr. AYRTON seems to have started in his career at the Board of Works with a conviction that gardeners, architects, sculptors, and scientific and artistic people generally, all thought a great deal too much of themselves, and that it was necessary to take them down at every opportunity, and make them feel that they were really a very cheap and common article in the market, and could always be had in any quantity. In his eyes one botanist or architect is just as good as another, or perhaps better; the qualifications are not attached to the man, but are imparted by the holding of the office. He appears to have imagined that a First Commissioner had only to smile on a clerk of the works to make him an accomplished architect, and that he could at any moment hail a working gardener trundling his wheelbarrow, and set him, in his shirt sleeves, to discharge the functions of a skilled botanist and horticulturist. This is a favourite autocratic idea. NAPOLEON had the same trick. To show his generals that they were nobody and he was everybody, he would pick out a youngster from the ranks, give him sword, epaulets, and cocked hat, and make him a general as good as any of the rest. It is evident from the official correspondence which has just been published that Mr. AYRTON's policy at Kew, and probably elsewhere, was to play off one grade of officials against another, the Curator against the Director, and the gardeners against the Curator. He acknowledges that he went to the Curator, who is the Director's deputy, and the second in command, and proposed to place him in authority over his superior; and that he not only did this without communication with Dr. HOOKER, but expressly requested that it should not be mentioned to him. Mr. AYRTON says he imposed silence on the Curator because he himself intended to speak to the Director on the subject; but, in point of fact, he never did so. Lord DERBY said very truly that to any one accustomed to official life, we may say to any one accustomed to the courtesies and decencies of intercourse between gentlemen in any sphere, it is impossible to conceive a more singular violation of discipline and custom, or even of the commonest rules of fair play than is involved in this transaction. On another occasion Mr. AYRTON, without consultation with, or previous notice to, Dr. HOOKER, suddenly withdrew the Curator from Kew, where there was a great pressure of business, to attend to some work in London, altogether beyond the sphere of his duties. It was at once explained to Mr. AYRTON that the presence of the Curator at Kew was indispensable, and he was, after some surly grum-

bling and offensive insinuations, compelled to admit this and to cancel his order. It is needless to say that the First Commissioner was not weak enough to apologize either for his blunder or his rudeness.

While humbling the Director on the one hand, Mr. AYRTON took good care, on the other hand, that the Curator should not be unduly uplifted. The duties of this office are varied and onerous, and include the keeping of accounts, the custody of stores, a great deal of correspondence, and the direction of the foremen employed in the Gardens. The Curator found it impossible for him to be everywhere at once, and applied for an assistant, or, as he put it, "a henchman," to whom he could depute any part of his work when he was called off on other business. It is obvious that what he wanted was a kind of confidential private secretary, a young man with a fair education and of good address, with whom he could be on terms of personal intimacy, and who, knowing all the affairs of the office, could communicate in his absence with the Director or with important visitors at the Gardens. If the Director and Curator had been allowed to nominate a person for the office, as they desired, it would have been filled up at once. Mr. AYRTON insisted that it must be left to competition, the Civil Service Commissioners eagerly supported the idea, and the result was that an ignorant and inexperienced sub-gardener at Kew, who could not obtain testimonials from his immediate employers, the Director and Curator, and of whom the Director reported officially—"Writes indifferently, spells badly, incompetent to direct foremen in regard to stores; no preliminary education or training to fit him for the place; has never kept accounts, has never been in charge of stores, and cannot conduct a correspondence properly"—was forced upon the establishment, which could do absolutely nothing with him; and it was with difficulty that Mr. AYRTON, even after he saw his error, could be brought to give way, and allow a useless official to be removed. Mr. AYRTON's conceptions of economy may be gathered from his desire that a man worth 1*l.* a week should receive 20*ol.* a year on the chance of his some day qualifying himself for the discharge of duties of which he confessed he knew nothing whatever. But then it would have been a great thing to show that any common gardener could do the work of the Director's deputy, and, if necessary, the Director's work too. It is admitted that Dr. HOOKER was superseded by the Director of Works in the management of the hot-water apparatus at Kew without any intimation or explanation being given to him on the subject. Mr. AYRTON pleads that the resolution of the Board on this point was so well known that it was unnecessary to notify it to the heads of departments; but it is obvious that public business would fall into utter confusion if it were to be conducted on assumptions of this kind. The letter in which the First Commissioner did at last condescend to inform Dr. HOOKER that the information as to his own jurisdiction which he had accidentally obtained from one of his subordinates was correct is a model of insolent curtness, and we can well understand that Lord DERBY when he first read it could hardly believe his eyes.

It is evident, on Mr. AYRTON's own showing, that Dr. HOOKER was treated with systematic rudeness and incivility, but it is unnecessary to assume that this was done in a spirit of deliberate persecution or with any intention of driving him from office. Mr. AYRTON's speculations as to the future of Kew do indeed disclose the hatching of another South Kensington conspiracy, and it is not improbable that COLE C.B. has already in view a modest friend who would not object to succeed Dr. HOOKER. We are reluctant, however, to believe that Mr. AYRTON was consciously promoting this scheme, although he could hardly have devised any measures better calculated to produce the desired vacancy than those which he adopted. Mr. AYRTON's conduct, outrageous and unjustifiable as it was, admits of a simpler explanation. Mr. AYRTON says he has no special ill-will towards Dr. HOOKER, and we see no reason to doubt this assurance. The arrogance, insolence, and utter want of consideration for the feelings of others under which Dr. HOOKER has been smarting are only "pretty FANNY's way." It appears that Mr. AYRTON habitually treats his political associates and superiors, as well as the House of Commons, with a cynical disregard of official discipline and personal courtesy; and Dr. HOOKER can hardly say he is much worse treated than the Treasury or the Cabinet. It will be remembered that Mr. AYRTON lately made a road across St. James's Park without taking the trouble to send in an estimate to the Treasury, and that after sending in an estimate he doubled and trebled it on his own authority. A few days ago he published a set of rules which he had drawn up

for the Parks without apparently observing the formality of consulting the Cabinet on the subject, and he has since been compelled to cancel his autocratic project. In the Kew correspondence we find the Treasury repeatedly complaining that their recommendations are ignored, and that documents which are required by them in order to guide their decisions are either suppressed or communicated in a garbled form. It would appear that Mr. AYRTON is inspired by an ambition to put down not only "letter-writing," but good manners, and to reduce public business to the hard, naked elements of curt commands and silent obedience. It seems to us impossible to acquit the Government of complicity in a policy which cannot fail, if persisted in, to exercise a disastrous influence on the zeal, harmony, and efficiency of the public service. In their minute of the 24th July the Treasury observe very justly that, while it is of course essential to maintain the superior authority of the First Commissioner, it is evident that this authority should be exercised with due regard to the feelings and position of the officers under him. They then go on to say that they gather from the First Commissioner's Memorandum that, "speaking generally," the business connected with Kew Gardens has been conducted in accordance with the views thus entertained by their Lordships. Most people, we imagine, who take the trouble to wade through this correspondence will be of a very different opinion. The subject is one which can be dealt with more effectually by the House of Commons than by the House of Lords, and it is to be hoped that some means will be found, if not of exacting an apology from Mr. AYRTON, or from the Government on his behalf, at least of protecting distinguished public servants from the kind of persecution to which Dr. HOOKER has for some time been subjected.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND UNIVERSAL SCHOOL BOARDS.

THE Report of the Committee of Council of Education for the year 1871 has been looked for with natural interest, as containing the record of the first year in which the Elementary Education Act has been in operation. Viewed in this light it is a disappointing volume. The educational year closes on the 31st of August, and the changes in the Education Department consequent on the passing of the Act were not completed until the following May. The Report only deals therefore with a period of four months, and during this time the department was principally busy in perfecting its machinery and in preparing the way for future work. Another year must pass away before it will be possible to form even an approximately accurate estimate of the effect of the Act. There is enough in this Report, however, to reassure any one who doubts whether the voluntary system might not have been made to supply the educational wants of the country. Assuming that in England and Wales the average daily attendance at efficient elementary schools ought to amount to about three millions, and that accommodation for this number of scholars should be considerably in excess of this average, a maximum attendance of about four millions has to be provided for. The existing voluntary schools meet rather more than half this need. There is room in them for something more than two millions of children. By the time that the last building grants have been paid accommodation will have been found for about three hundred thousand more. For the balance, amounting to about a million and a half, room will have to be provided by means of the Act. It is highly improbable that voluntary effort would have achieved so much had it not been for the stimulus supplied by the hope of escaping a School Board; and it may therefore be taken for granted that the work which remains to be done would have been left undone if the Act had not been passed.

Although the Report itself gives but little information as to how the Act is working, some useful data are furnished by the Reports of the eight senior Inspectors, which are printed in the appendix. The most valuable of these perhaps is one by Mr. BOWSTEAD, on schools inspected in the county of Gloucester. That district contains a very various population, agricultural and manufacturing. In 1871 only three School Boards had been set up, and Mr. BOWSTEAD reports that throughout the county there exists the strongest possible desire to supply all deficiencies by means of voluntary effort. The main cause of this dislike to School Boards is the dislike to local rates. There are important places in Gloucestershire, says the Inspector, where the people are anxious for the spread of elementary education, anxious that this education should be dissociated from any particular religious body, and

convinced that a School Board would give them the amount and the kind of education which they want for their children. But when they see that a School Board entails the imposition of a new rate, they prefer to do without it. "Even when they would be willing to accept the rate for themselves, they shrink from the unpopularity of fastening it upon their neighbours." As regards the mere provision of schools this state of things is far from unsatisfactory. There is much to be said for voluntary effort over compulsory rating as a means of raising the necessary funds, and if Gloucestershire has really set its heart upon making voluntary effort do all or nearly all the work, it is far from impossible that, in point of educational position, the county may eventually be in advance of some in which School Boards have been generally established. But a difficulty will arise whenever any steps are taken to make compulsory attendance universal. Mr. FORSTER has almost promised that something shall be done in this direction next year, and there seems no way of doing it except by the universal establishment of School Boards. If in every parish children are to be made to go to school, there must in every parish be some one charged with the duty of making them go. Mr. BOWSTEAD says that in his district the notion of compulsion is not in itself unpopular. "On the contrary, there is among school managers, both lay and clerical, a very strong desire to be armed with the powers conferred upon School Boards by the recent statute." It has all along been clear that, in proportion as the accommodation in voluntary schools came nearer to the number of children within the school age, the feeling in favour of compulsion would increase. No managers like to have built or enlarged their school until there is room in it for every poor child in the parish, and then to find that half the benches are left empty because the children who ought to fill them are either sent to work or kept at home. It is obviously impossible that any body of managers should be armed with powers of enforcing attendance at their own schools. Such powers must be entrusted to a public authority of some kind, and the appropriate authority for the purpose is a School Board. Yet if School Boards are made universal, and the school rate which is their inevitable accompaniment is universally imposed, the promoters of voluntary schools will feel that they have been deceived. In 1870, they will say, you pass an Act which virtually gives to each district the option of doing without a School Board, provided that it makes the necessary effort to supply the requisite school accommodation in another way. The effort is made, and the requisite school accommodation provided on the faith that no School Board will be set up. In 1873 you pass an Act providing that School Boards shall be set up everywhere. It makes no difference that in our own case the final course of the School Board will be the compelling children to go to our school, instead of providing another school for them to go to. The ground of our opposition to School Boards is financial, and even if they do nothing more than drive children to school, there must be a paid staff, and a rate to raise the money to pay it. There is great reason to fear that if this issue is clearly put to the constituencies, the dislike to increased local taxation will be strong enough to make any measure which involves it hopelessly unpopular. The country may reject compulsory school attendance if it is associated with a compulsory school rate.

This difficulty might perhaps be got over in some such way as this. It is assumed that in a given parish full school accommodation has been provided by voluntary effort, and that there is no difficulty in maintaining and working the schools so established. Why should not the expenses of the School Board, so long as it exists for no other purpose than the enforcement of school attendance, be paid out of the Parliamentary grant? Such a payment would not operate as an encouragement to local inertness; on the contrary, no district could claim it unless there had been a great effort of local liberality, and a determination to go on making similar efforts. The moment that the provision of school accommodation fell below the required amount, the Education Department would step in and insist on the deficiency being remedied by the School Board. The title to the special payment out of the Parliamentary grant would immediately become void, and a school rate would have to be levied. The expense of maintaining a School Board for this sole purpose would not be great, and it would only be thrown on Imperial taxation in cases where a sum equivalent to a considerable local rate had already been raised. It is true that, if the population were very poor, a large number of school fees might, as the Act now stands, have to be paid by the School Board, and that if the money thus spent were provided by Parliament,

and not by the particular locality, there would be no check on injudicious liberality. But this objection seems in a fair way to be met by another process. The proceedings of the London School Board on Wednesday showed what a strong and growing sense there is of the impossibility of drawing a distinction between one sort of parental inability and another. The law—on the theory that compulsion is universally introduced—will say to every parent, You must supply your children with a certain necessary minimum of food, clothing, and instruction. If he pleads inability to supply his child with food or clothing, he is declared to be a pauper, and either taken into the workhouse or relieved under surveillance at his own home. If he pleads inability to supply his children with instruction, a School Board interposes, and provides either a school to which he can send his children without payment, or the money to pay for their attendance at a voluntary school. There is no meaning in this distinction, and there may easily be a great deal of mischief in it. As this comes to be more clearly seen, the feeling in favour of leaving the question of a parent's ability to pay for his children's schooling to be determined by the same persons who are charged with determining his ability to pay for their bread and butter, cannot fail to increase. The simple solution of the difficulty is to make over this part of the work of a School Board to the Guardians of the poor. The School Board will then report to the Guardians that such and such persons have not sent their children to school, and that they allege themselves to be unable to pay the school fees. The Guardians would then investigate the truth of this statement, just as they would investigate any ordinary application for relief, and would either pay the fees out of the poor-rate or take measures to force the parent to pay them. Either way the burden would not fall on the School Board.

THE SESSION.

THE Session, which was expected to be a stormy one, and not improbably fatal to the Ministry, has proved an unusually quiet one, and leaves the Ministry to all appearances firmly seated in office. This remarkable falsification of sinister prophecies has been the result of a variety of causes, among which the conduct of the Ministry itself deserves to hold a conspicuous place. The Government has brought in and managed to carry a great number of important measures. A Session may be considered more than ordinarily productive of serious legislation which has seen the introduction and passing of the Ballot Bill, the Scotch Education Bill, the Licensing, Public Health, and Mines Regulation Bills. The scheme for the reorganization of the army proposed by Mr. Cardwell was generally welcomed as adequate and well conceived; and the Government has sedulously refrained from risking failure by attempting impracticable measures. The Ballot Bill received important modifications and improvements from the Lords, and the Government not only accepted them, but was willing to go further in the path of concession than the Commons would permit. The Licensing Bill is a small measure, and the Public Health Bill is only a bit of a Bill; but both are worth having, and it is to the credit of the Government that what could be got was not lost through pique or inconsiderate ambition. The saving of the Washington Treaty probably saved the Government that was responsible for it, and there went as much luck as wit to the fortunate issue of a troublesome affair; but Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville are entitled to the praise of having never despaired, and of having indefatigably tried everything rather than own themselves beaten. Public events also contributed to allay the fever of political strife. The recent illness of the Prince of Wales, the universal interest awakened by the solemnities of the day of thanksgiving, the shock caused by the assassination of Lord Mayo, the general peace prevailing in Europe, and the feeling that, in view of new combinations of labour, the industry and the social relations of England are entering on a phase of which no one dreamt a twelvemonth ago, have all combined to indispose men to see in the political world merely an arena for badgering Ministers and upsetting Governments. The appointment of Lord Northbrook and Lord Dufferin showed that the Government had merit at its command which it was prepared to recognize; and in its peremptory refusal to amnesty the remaining Fenians, in its resistance to Mr. Fawcett's Bill, and in its treatment of the alleged grievances springing out of the Education Act, the Government showed a firmness in which it had formerly been deficient. The Opposition too has shown itself exceedingly moderate. Mr. Disraeli out of the House has had the amusement of describing the Ministry as looking like a set of extinct volcanoes, and of stigmatizing the party that supports them as cosmopolitan and not national. But during the long delay of the Treaty negotiations, though, as Lord Granville said, he sat watching Mr. Gladstone like a cat, yet he held his tongue, and gave an example of patience and forbearance which added to his own reputation for statesmanship and stifled the burning indiscretion of his followers. Both parties too were equally averse to the prospect of an immediate dissolution; and this, of all the

causes that have operated in favour of the Government, has probably been the most powerful. The Conservatives, cheered as they were at the outset of the Session by the West Riding election, did not wish to shake the pear before it was ripe, and Liberals whose seats were in danger did not like to relinquish the prize they had won.

The strength of this feeling was strikingly exhibited at the beginning of the Session. As soon as the Address had been voted, and the new Speaker installed in office, the great Collier scandal absorbed the attention of Parliament. The Government had really no defence, and on the principle of abusing the plaintiff's attorney when there is no case, the Duke of Argyll was betrayed into a coarseness and wildness of abuse of Chief Justice Cockburn for which he was afterwards forced to apologize. The Chancellor spoke with some dignity, and with such evidence that his conduct, however mistaken, had been honest, that the feeling sprang up that he should be censured severely enough to show what was thought of what he had done, and not severely enough to make his continuance in office impossible. This was done in the neatest possible way in the Lords by what would have been an equal division had he not given himself a majority of one by voting in his own favour. In the Commons nothing but the dread of upsetting the Ministry prevented an adverse vote. After the crushing speech of Mr. Denman, the more independent Liberals recognized that the question was not whether the Government could be defended, but whether it was to be kept in office, however wrong it might have been. A bare and poor majority of twenty-seven decided that conscience did not require them to face a dissolution, and the Conservatives were equally pleased at finding their rivals kept in office, and at finding them humiliated by the nearness to defeat. After the Collier case was over, the *Ewelme* case, which somewhat resembled it, was easily disposed of. Mr. Gladstone had evaded by a subtlety carrying out the intentions of Parliament in the previous year; but if the House of Commons would not face a dissolution in order to maintain the judicial honour of one of its highest Courts of Appeal, it was not likely to incur the danger because there had been something wrong in the appointment of an Oxfordshire parson. It also deserves to be noted that Mr. Gladstone honestly owned that he would never have made the Collier appointment if he had known how much agitation it would provoke. He had had a lesson, and was willing to profit by it, and throughout the remainder of the Session he has carefully abstained from that high-handed indifference to the decisions and wishes of Parliament in which he indulged while he conceived himself to be lifted above all other authorities by the worship of the people.

When Parliament met, the shadow of the Indirect Claims was lowering over the horizon. The Ministry was believed to have viewed this serious danger with extraordinary apathy, and it subsequently transpired that for a month the Cabinet had taken no notice of a grave and unexpected attack on the interests of the nation. Stimulated, however, by the unanimous voice of public opinion, they inserted a paragraph in the Queen's Speech stating that Her Majesty had not understood these claims to be within the scope of the Treaty, and had represented this to the American Government. When the Address was being debated Lord Granville prudently confined himself to a description of the increase in his sufferings from gout which the monstrous audacity of the American Claims had caused him, while Mr. Gladstone nearly made all further negotiation impossible by declaring that his interpretation of the Treaty, by which the Indirect Claims were excluded, was the only one a rational man could entertain. There was nothing to be done but to wait for the American reply, which arrived in the middle of March, and was to the effect that the Indirect Claims, to which the American Government did not attach any extravagant value, were within the scope of the Treaty, and the American Government would be glad to hear why the English Government thought they were not. This opened the door for further negotiations or correspondence; but meanwhile, the 15th of April, when the English Counter Case was to be put in, was rapidly approaching, and Parliament anxiously inquired how the Government proposed to meet this difficulty. The Government announced that it intended to put in the Counter Case, but with a reservation of all rights in case the parties to the Treaty did not agree as to its scope. This was done; but it soon became known that the American Government would not give way, and the Treaty seemed destined to be set aside, when at the beginning of May the Government assumed a tone of confidence, and expressed a firm belief that the Treaty would be saved. Although the negotiations between the two Governments were supposed to be conducted with perfect secrecy, the enterprise of the American press was always sufficient to find out everything that was going on, and the enterprise of the English press was always sufficient to publish at the earliest moment all that was discovered in America. Long, therefore, before an official announcement to that effect was made in Parliament, it became known that the supposed new path of safety lay in the adoption of a Supplementary Treaty which Lord Granville, at the invitation of General Schenck, had sketched out, and which was to provide that, in return for England accepting new rules debaring her from urging such claims in the future, the American Government was not to bring the Indirect Claims it had made before the Arbitrators. This was no doubt the intention of Lord Granville, but as soon as the enterprise of the press had published the draft of the new Treaty, it was discovered that the Treaty did not provide for this, but merely provided that no further American claims of the

sort should be made. In a word, through an oversight, the Indirect Claims already before the Arbitrators were not to be withdrawn. England, therefore, was to lose after all the point on which she had insisted, and the moment seemed to have arrived when Lord Russell, who had long been threatening the Government with an adverse motion in the House of Lords, might properly bring it on. Accordingly there was a great debate in the Upper House on June 4, in which Lord Derby expressed a doubt whether the Americans had not right on their side; Lord Cairns upheld the American Claims with all the power of a practised advocate; Lord Salisbury condemned recourse to arbitration altogether; Lord Russell stated that when in office he had been abused by the Americans like a pickpocket; and the Government speakers had little to say, except that the proper course was to let the negotiations be finished first and then turn out the Government if necessary. It seemed as if nothing could prevent a hostile vote; but when the Peers met on the 6th for the adjourned debate, Lord Granville had the satisfaction of producing a letter from General Schenck, stating that he had Mr. Fish's authority for saying that the American Government would look on the Indirect Claims made in its Case as at an end if the Treaty were concluded. The Lords ceased to discuss a point which was no longer open to discussion, and as it was known that a large majority of the American Senate was willing to adopt the Treaty, it seemed as if all controversy was at an end. At the eleventh hour a new and insuperable difficulty arose. The Senate had, it turned out, adopted the Treaty, but with modifications introducing such a dangerous vagueness into the wording of the new rules by which England was to be bound, that the English Government could not proceed further with the negotiation. The Treaty seemed dead, but the English Government sent its representatives to Geneva on June 15 to see what might happen, instructing them not to present the final document necessary to complete the English Case. It also asked, but the demand was refused by the American Government, for a joint application to the Arbitrators to adjourn for eight months, that the Supplementary Treaty might be further discussed. All seemed to be over, when suddenly things took a new turn. The Arbitrators themselves came forward and said that, apart from the Treaty, the Indirect Claims could not be entertained according to any known rules of international law. The American Government professed itself satisfied with this exposition of general principles, and withdrew the Indirect Claims. The English Government put in its final document and the arbitration went on. This conclusion of a most unpleasant business was delightful to the Government and satisfactory to the nation, although this satisfaction was unavoidably damped by the discovery that the Ministry had agreed to pay Canada in the shape of a Railway guarantee for England's not having ventured to press on the American Government its claims for the Fenian raids.

The Ballot Bill was the main Bill of the Session, and the vicissitudes of its history were many and great. Very little interest was excited by it at first, and only 160 members were present when it passed the second reading; but in the middle of April a great fight arose over it on the proposal of Mr. Leatham to punish a voter who showed his voting-paper. Mr. Forster had got up the Bill in a very careless manner, and the Government, both on this important point and on that of the hours when the polls should close, wavered and doubted, and had no clear opinion. They decided, however, to support Mr. Leatham, but were beaten by a majority of one, and on challenging a repetition of this vote on a subsequent day the majority against them had increased to twenty-eight. They were also beaten by a majority of nearly a hundred when they supported a proposal to throw the expenses of elections on the rates, and they were forced against their will to adopt a machinery by which illiterate voters might have their votes recorded for them openly. Ultimately they got the Bill through in a shape by no means unsatisfactory on the whole, more especially as it at least did one good thing, by putting an end to the scandal and tumults of nomination days. The Bill passed the third reading on May 30, and on June 10 was read a second time in the Lords, the Duke of Richmond announcing that he thought so much ought to be conceded in deference to the Commons, but that he should entirely alter the Bill in Committee. The wisdom of this course was questioned at the time, and especially by Lord Salisbury, who urged with unanswerable force that it would be much more straightforward to reject the Bill altogether than to let it nominally pass the second reading and then cut it to pieces. The Duke of Richmond, however, persevered, and on the 17th persuaded the Lords to sanction an extraordinary scheme for an optional Ballot, which united every possible disadvantage both of open and secret voting. The Lords made one improvement in the Bill by introducing provisions for a scrutiny; and they also made a change which, after weighing its advantages and disadvantages, may be pronounced beneficial, by limiting the duration of the Act to eight years. The Peers had been unusually vehement and excited during the one evening in which they introduced these and other minor alterations into the Bill, and it was evident that the Conservative leaders had occupied with unseemly haste a thoroughly false position by committing themselves to the absurd plan of an optional Ballot. It was of course at once rejected when the amendments of the Lords came to be considered by the Commons; but the provisions for a scrutiny, with some necessary improvements, and also the limitation of the duration of the Act, were accepted, while it was only by the firmness of the House that amendments favoured by the

Government for depriving candidates of the use of schools as polling-places, and for introducing a mischievous variation in the hours of closing the poll at different seasons of the year, were ultimately rejected. One or two minor matters, such as the mode of making the declaration of incapacity to be exacted from illiterate voters, had to be adjusted, but the Lords forbore from any further serious opposition, owing to the good sense of a majority which was large enough, in face of the persistence of the Conservative leaders, to rescind the vote in favour of the optional Ballot. The measure then became law, being acknowledged to be an experiment to be tried for eight years, but so shaped that it may be expected that the experiment will be made fairly and completely; and it will thus be seen whether the wish of the present constituencies, a wish manifested by the absence of all opposition and by the return of Conservatives pledged to the Ballot, rather than by any enthusiasm in favour of the Bill, is justified by the event.

The Government was freely and constantly accused by its opponents of throwing away the whole time of the Session in order to get its own way on a vexed question of politics like the Ballot, while it left all measures for the real welfare of the people to take their chance. This reproach was by no means justified. Mr. Cardwell's army scheme provided with care and completeness for the localization of the army and the construction of the regular and reserve forces into a whole. For almost the first time for many years it seemed as if we were to have an army costly, but worth its cost, and the House would not listen to Mr. Harcourt's motion echoing the terms in which a long time ago Mr. Stansfeld had tried to impose on the Government of the day some limitation of its military expenses. Unfortunately Mr. Cardwell deferred until a late period of the Session the measure by which the cost of building the necessary accommodation for a localized army was to be defrayed, and although Mr. Lowe explained that he proposed to take the money out of the Exchequer balances, and so no pecuniary difficulty existed, it was open to the opponents of all army expenditure to throw obstacles in the way of the Bill which kept it back for a time. The navy has excited little attention, and the Report of the *Meyera* Commission has had no other apparent effect than one more transformation of the governing body at the Admiralty, by which three secretaries are to secure that every letter is signed by some responsible person, and the Board is to meet every day. Mr. Goschen, however, defended himself with success against the charge made by Lord Clarence Paget outside the House, that it was the parsimony of the Government in the matter of coal that had led to the recent losses of ironclads; he announced, to the satisfaction of the profession, the intended conversion of Greenwich Hospital into a Naval College; and he showed at the end of the Session that he was ready to do his best to meet the views of Mr. Graves as to manning the navy; while a motion to reduce the Estimates by the salary of the First Lord gave Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of defending that strange, but perhaps salutary, part of Parliamentary institutions which places a great and highly technical profession under the almost exclusive control of a man who knows nothing whatever about it. The Budget, again, if so commonplace as to be transparently without any interest for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was yet so far satisfactory that it released the payers of Income-tax from the extra twopence thrown on them last year, and extended the exemption in favour of the poorer classes of contributors. Whether the reduction of the duty on coffee by one half is of any benefit to the consumer remains yet to be proved; but at any rate the Budget was a proof, if any were needed, that, in Mr. Gladstone's words, British industry is proceeding, not by steps but strides, not by strides but by leaps and bounds; and Mr. Lowe, if he could not pretend to care for his Budget, has at least had a little triumph of his own, and has carried his Chancery Funds Bill, which will help him towards reducing the National Debt by his favourite method of Terminable Annuities.

The Government has, however, not only escaped from the military and financial pitfalls into which it fell last year, but its minor measures of social improvement have been successful and not unimportant. The Scotch Education Act is an improvement on the English Act in so far as it makes education more compulsory, while casting on the Poor Law authorities the duty of saying what parents are too poor to pay fees, and, perhaps, in so far as it allows denominational instruction to be illustrated by the use of the formularies to which denominations cling. The Bill was nearly swamped through a motion accidentally carried by Mr. Gordon, the effect of which would have been to take away the religious freedom which characterizes the English Act. But the decision of the House was subsequently reversed by a considerable majority, and nothing has remained of Mr. Gordon's motion but the insertion by the Lords of a few vague and unnecessary words into the preamble; while the Government have justifiably resisted the attempt to create a Scotch Board permanently independent of Parliamentary control. The Mines Regulation Bill has done much to improve the position of women and children in mining districts, to prevent accidents, and to provide for competent inspection; and the controversy as to the responsibility of owners was decided by enacting that they should not be held responsible if they have done all that they could do generally to prevent accidents by due publication of the rules accepted. The Licensing Bill was not calculated to please the zealots on either side; but it will lessen the time in which drink can be sold, will place the trade under strict control, and will, by the reservation of an ultimate authority to the Secretary of State,

tend to prevent the arbitrary and accidental character of decisions on application for licences. The Public Health Bill has been shorn of all the clauses which gave health authorities increased authority; but it will be of decided use in vesting in the Town Councils and Boards of Guardians the power to act and the duty of acting. Some opposition was raised to even this modified measure at first; but when Mr. Stansfeld had yielded so far to the defenders of local rates as to engage that half the expense of the medical officers appointed under the Act should be borne by the Consolidated Fund, Mr. Disraeli came to his rescue, declared that the Bill ought to pass, and speeded it on its way to the Lords. The Government also passed a Parks Bill of which perhaps their friends will, if they are wise, not say too much. Mr. Harcourt opposed it as a piece of Algerine legislation, and as an infraction of *Magna Charta*. He seemed to be opposing it in vain; but the Government thought it better to make things pleasant to him and his few supporters by conceding that the public should have the right of meeting in the London Parks, and that the regulations for the Parks should be submitted to Parliament before taking effect. Until we see how it is worked it is impossible to say whether the Parks will be any the better or worse for the Bill. Of course, if the Government has had its successes, it has had its failures too, although the magnitude of the former exceeds that of the latter. It had to massacre many innocents, and its Bill for the Enclosure of Commons was strangled in the Lords. It provoked the House of Commons into throwing over its Bill for dealing with the Thames Embankment, although the House might have done much better if it had accepted the issue which the Government offered, and negatived the Ministerial proposal. The controversy between Mr. Ayrton and Dr. Hooker once more brought into strong light the dictatorial and offensive mode in which one department of Government is administered; and the Chancellor altogether broke down in a feeble and ill-considered scheme to get the Lords to give up their appellate jurisdiction. In the whole region of Law Reform the Government has totally and avowedly collapsed. The Chancellor is utterly unable to cope with such critics as Lord Cairns and Lord Westbury, and when towards the end of the Session Mr. Harcourt sketched a scheme of Law Reform which had at least the merit of being comprehensive and harmonious, the Attorney- and Solicitor-General united in declaring that they had nothing, and would have nothing, to do with Law Reform, that the law did not need reforming, and that even if it did, the Government could not carry any measure of reform, and was not going to bother itself with such futilities. Thus one of the most fertile and promising fields of social improvement has been altogether abandoned by the Liberals, and remains open and free for their Conservative successors.

Early in the Session there was some discussion of proposals to change the rules of the House of Commons so as to facilitate the despatch of public business. Nothing, however, came of the discussion, except that Monday nights were absolutely given up to the Government, and no doubt this change has been very useful, and has enabled the Government to do more than it otherwise could have done. But at the end of the Session some private members, and especially Mr. Newdegate, complained of the diminishing importance and opportunities accorded to them in Parliament, and a sort of murmur was heard that the Government has now too much its own way, and that private members can do nothing. Nothing, on the contrary, is more striking when the history of a Session is studied in detail than the great variety of questions on which private members find ample opportunity of expressing themselves; and this Session has certainly been no exception. It is not of course often that the Bills of private members are carried through. Mr. Henry James carried a Bill for Preventing Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections, while the Government could find no time for its own Corrupt Practices Bill; and a Bill has been passed at the instigation of private members for the protection of different kinds of British birds, which was chiefly remarkable for giving occasion to Mr. Bruce to indulge in a pretty piece of poetical description about it at the Mansion House. But it is in points that are not pushed so far as a Bill that the power of private members to determine and control the conduct of Government is most visible. The most conspicuous instance this Session was Sir Massey Lopes's resolution as to local taxation, which was carried against the Government by a majority of a hundred, and has forced them to promise to take up the subject in earnest next Session. But this was not all. The Government was forced to add an English pension to the Indian pension of Lady Mayo, and Lord Hartington at least took advantage of a discussion on a Bill for the purchase of Irish Railways to announce that the Government would be inclined to buy them if the shareholders would take a fair price. Lord Granard was made to resign his Lord-Lieutenancy under the pressure of questions raised by his indiscreet denunciation of Mr. Justice Keogh's Galway judgment. The hands of the Government were strengthened in dealing with the slave trade in Eastern Africa by a discussion in the House of Lords, and Lord Abinger actually carried a motion for an address to the Queen asking that a change contemplated by Mr. Cardwell of introducing the rank of major into the Scientific Corps should be indefinitely delayed. The address did no good to those whom it was intended to benefit, the rivals in the line of the Scientific Corps; the Ministry made the Queen reply that the change could not be delayed; but at least Lord Abinger had the satisfaction of getting what he thought a grievance perhaps even more than amply discussed. Private members have in some instances been even too powerful

this Session, as when Sir Robert Peel and Sir Charles Adderley buried a scheme for disposing of the drainage of Birmingham which had received the sanction of a Committee, on the avowed ground that they did not like it as private landowners. The important subject of Railway Amalgamation has been relegated to a Committee which has occupied almost the whole of the Session in its labours, and which has at least prevented this subject of great social importance being settled either by the Government or by the Railway interest. It was also on the motion of a private member that the exciting topic of Mr. Justice Keogh's judgment was discussed. Mr. Butt tried his best to plead the cause of his friends the priests, but all his arguments were more than demolished by the vigorous speech of Mr. Henry James, the most rising unofficial member of the Liberal party. The Government did not do themselves much credit on the occasion. They announced that they were going to prosecute a Bishop, some twenty priests, and the brothers Nolan. But they tried hard to make out that they were bound by law to prosecute, so that the priests might regard them as allies forced by official duty to act adversely; and although the whole Government force was thrown into the overwhelming majority against the adjournment of the debate which virtually decided the main issue, yet the Attorney-General, to whom the defence of the Government was left, took very good care to say nothing more than that the judgment was legally correct. Mr. Matthews in the course of the debate told a bitter truth when he said that the main cause of the arrogance and lawlessness of the Irish priests was that Liberal Governments never dared to look them boldly in the face, and resent their spirit of aggression.

Private members do not always succeed, but still they have their say. Even Sir Charles Dilke had his say with his pitiful cheeseparing Republicanism and attack on the Civil List; an incident of the Session which unfortunately turned to the discredit, rather than the credit, of the House of Commons, and led to a scene of folly and anarchy and uproar which would have disgraced the worst Convention of the worst Republic. The English House of Commons, the greatest assemblage of free men in the world, has also its moments when it shows that it too is but human, and sinks to the level of the smallest. Happily such hours of madness are rare, and we can afford to forget them. The list of subjects on which the Government has this Session been, as it were, put on its defence, and made to declare its mind, speaks well for the vigilance of the House of Commons. Legal education, the legal expenses of Governor Eyre, the course taken by the Indian Government with regard to the Bank of Bombay, the question whether Persia should be regarded as within the sphere of Indian or English diplomacy, the advisableness of Parliament playing the part of the American Senate and controlling negotiations, the worth of treaty guarantees, the desirableness of marking the wickedness of races by not adjourning over the Derby Day, and the irrepressible Claimant and the great problem whether the public interests demand that six counsel should combine to prosecute him, all came under review, and the Government had to announce and justify the course it proposed to take with regard to each. Perhaps Mr. Fawcett's strictures on the duties and payment of law officers deserve to be noticed separately, for it is certainly a serious question for the nation what is the real value of its legal arrangements when it is told that the Attorney and Solicitor-General have nothing whatever to do with the improvement of the law, and that everything is made to depend on the humours and powers of the Chancellor. There has, too, been an abundance of effort on the part of private members to carry on legislation on their own account, and the amplest opportunity has been given for at least gaining notoriety in this way for the views of private members, and taking the sense of the House and of the country in regard to them. Mr. Fawcett's Bill for the reconstitution of the University of Dublin was much the most memorable example of this, and as it passed the second reading Mr. Gladstone, or some of his subordinates, first sounded a wild note of alarm in a Ministerial paper, and then stated that he could not hold office if the control of measures regulating Irish education was taken out of his hands. The portion of the Bill repealing Tests he was willing to support, but he must split the Bill in two, and would oppose the part for reorganizing the governing body of the University. He would not even lend any help to the subject being discussed, and as Mr. Fawcett's Bill manifestly did not carry out the object at which it professed to aim, it was silently buried with general assent. The minor subjects on which members with varying degrees of wisdom or the reverse attempted to legislate were numerous and various. Lord Buckhurst tried to protect acrobats by a Bill which unfortunately was so framed as to include sailors and jockeys, and had to be abandoned. Philosophical Liberals like Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Morrison sketched out improved plans of extended franchise and electoral districts. Lord Albemarle endeavoured to do away with the special qualifications for Justices of the Peace. The familiar Bill for legalizing marriages with the sisters of deceased wives got as far as a second reading, and then disappeared; while the Burials Bill got this year within sight of a Committee, when it was smothered by what its author denounced as an unhandsome artifice. Women's Suffrage had its turn, and it fared badly, several deserters from its cause being conspicuous, and one or two gallant Liberals declaring that they had found that the ladies were really against it, and that they must bow to their decision. The time of the House at the busiest part of the closing weeks of the Session was occupied or wasted by a purely theoretical discussion

on the proposal to abolish Capital Punishment. Perhaps of all the small measures which came to nothing, but which under happier circumstances may command attention among the most really valuable, was the proposal made by Mr. Fowler in the Lower, and by Lord Salisbury in the Upper, House to give tenants for life increased powers of improving cottage property. But it is impossible that Parliament should attend to all the good suggestions made to it. Something is gained if some of the bad suggestions are disposed of, if the Government is called to account in cases of doubt, and if a fair amount of tolerably good legislation is attained. Parliament has come up to this level in the Session now closing; and more need not be demanded until a change comes for which things are not yet ripe, and Parliament, in order to remedy the mischief which gives the only justification for the cry of Home Rule, eases itself of a part of the excessive burden which it chooses to lay on its shoulders, and which it is equally unable to carry and unwilling to drop.

A FRENCH MORALIST.

M. ALEXANDRE DUMAS *filis* is one of those writers who are the wonder and the despair of their British rivals. Not long ago he surprised us all by setting himself up as a moral censor; by way of corollary he straightway brought out a play which to the dull perception of insular critics appears to be scandalously immoral; and he has now published a book, already in its seventh edition, which is so strange a mixture of morality and immorality that we shrink from the effort of finding any accurate classification for it in our clumsy language. The epithets which occur to us most naturally all seem too harsh and positive for the purpose. Will M. Taine, or somebody of equal omniscience, explain to us how it comes to pass that an Englishman is reduced to such hopeless perplexity in presence of these marvellous productions of French art? It is not, at least so we flatter ourselves, that the French fancy is essentially lighter, or the French perception more acute, than our own. Certainly M. Dumas's book is full of what we should call gross faults of taste, logic, and morality. But that is the very wonder. By some mysterious sleight of hand he mingles his incongruous materials, covers them with a light froth of epigram, adds a dash or two of cynical acid, and a touch of sentimental sweetness, and the whole when served up is so crisp, fresh, and sparkling that we almost fancy for a moment that it shows real genius. When we try to look closer, it must be admitted that the illusion disappears. We begin even to fancy that M. Dumas has really very little to say, and that that little is not very original, although he has played so many tricks with his truisms that they have a superficial resemblance to paradoxes. It is, however, not easy for a British mind to follow satisfactorily the windings of an argument which is composed partly of the ordinary sentimentalism of a French novel, partly of queer fragments of stray science and philosophy, and partly, as one might fancy, of reminiscences of a sermon delivered by some preacher of Dean Stanley's school, or what is known as unsectarian Christianity. Or perhaps it would be a more probable hypothesis that the author of the *Dame aux Camélias* has lately been studying a Catholic bishop on feminine education, the reports of the late Dubourg case, the Bible, and Balzac's *Physiologie du Mariage*, and endeavoured to combine his information. Bewildering as we have admitted the final result to be, we are inclined to think that the influence of Balzac is more strongly marked than that of the other authorities. M. Dumas, however, has that happy art of a certain school of French writers which somehow or other gives to the most undeniable morality, apparently preached straight out of the Gospels, a certain flavour of indelicacy. In one sense it is doubtless a great triumph of literary skill to make an apology for virtue fully as piquant as a defence of vice.

The text on which M. Dumas discourses is a simple one. He discusses, *à propos* of the Dubourg incident, the delicate problem whether a husband ought to pardon or to kill an unfaithful wife. It seems that he has been considering this question for the last five or six years, and that his next play, to be called *La Femme de Claude*, will turn upon it. Meanwhile, as a friend of his has taken up the more merciful view in an article published in *Le Soir*, M. Dumas discusses the philosophy of the whole subject, and explains his reasons for coming to the opposite conclusion. An Englishman would perhaps have thought that some mean might be discovered between the two extremes; but the English, we know, are an illogical people, and given to accept compromises. An Englishman, indeed, has the alternative of divorce, which, as M. Dumas tells us, is indispensable under the conditions of modern society. But then the Roman Catholic Church objects to divorce; and the Church has unanswerable reasons to allege from its own point of view. Here, then, we seem to be landed in a hopeless difficulty, which M. Dumas does not attempt to clear up. Meanwhile let us endeavour to expound his theory, so far as the obtuseness of our language and our intellect will allow us. First we must understand what is the position and character of woman. That is a tolerably wide question, and the greater part of the male sex is altogether too coarse in its perceptions really to understand it. Those, however, who have studied the works of recent French novelists, and especially of their great master Balzac, may perhaps be sufficiently initiated to understand M. Dumas's views. Woman, if

she belongs to the superior type, is at present a cunning slave, who really rules when she seems to obey. Man fancies that his superior strength, physical and moral, will give him the superiority in marriage. He deceives himself. As soon as a woman becomes a mother, she has the best of the position. She takes advantage of her weakness to extort concessions from her ruler. The doctrine of the supporters of woman's rights is a miserable delusion. Make woman a free competitor with man in masculine tasks, and she, as naturally the weaker, will infallibly get the worst of it. But marriage, and her consequent position as ruler of the domestic circle, places in her hand weapons which she well knows how to turn to account. The bargain is really to her advantage altogether. She is the mistress of the man's honour, and can do as she pleases by the help of a little feminine diplomacy. And then she has a terrible ally in the priest. The priest is her confidant and her director in matters too holy for the husband's interference. Free-thinkers will never be able to detach woman from her allegiance to the Church; and the Church seeks constantly to increase the feminine at the expense of the masculine element in religion, and to render it more exclusively the worship of the Virgin—the deification of woman. God, man, and woman, says M. Dumas in a queer mystical phrase, are the sides of the eternal triangle. At present, God and woman are in tacit alliance against man. When proper harmony is restored, the world will be at peace, and heaven and earth will be united. But how is this to be done? That is the great question, and unluckily it is one to which we obtain no very clear answer.

We have, however, a brief sketch of sacred history according to M. Dumas's version. We cannot follow him into his remarkable interpretation of particular texts, and of the meaning of the fall and the redemption of mankind. The great misfortune for the human race, as other commentators have observed, was that man listened to the voice of the woman and thereby abdicated his proper position. The proper harmony was disturbed, and woman became independent, especially when she became the mother of Cain. Cain, as we know, took a wife, for whose existence it is not altogether easy to account, and was thus the progenitor of an inferior race of women, who unfortunately are represented pretty numerously at the present day. The great saying in the Gospels is the phrase, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" That means, as interpreted by M. Dumas, that the order disturbed by the serpent is to be re-established, and that man is to take his proper place as the mediator between woman and the Deity. This explanation of the "admirable Biblical tradition" delights M. Dumas so much, that he bursts out into a most edifying gush of orthodoxy, and gives us a whole page of emphatic exclamations. M. Dumas, it is obvious, can quote Scripture to some purpose. Finally, having worked himself up to the proper state of unctious, he delivers an address to an imaginary son at the age of twenty-one. This young gentleman is the recipient of a quantity of exemplary morality; he is directed to marry an excellent woman if he can find one; to become her guide, philosopher, and friend; to direct her without governing her arbitrarily; to have as many children as possible; to make her understand the sanctity of maternity, and to qualify her to be at once father and mother to his children if he should happen to die prematurely. He is to make her understand life, which is very simple; and to explain death, which is very easy when one has lived well. Thus he will be able to do without the priest, whom our ignorance, and not our credulity, as Voltaire would have it, has made indispensable; and the three sides of the eternal triangle will be found. All which may be very admirable as advice; though, like much other advice, it seems to reduce itself to this—that if we were all perfect, the world would be much better off. However, it is possible that even M. Dumas's imaginary hero may make a mistake. He may find that he has married an unworthy woman, who dishonours him and deserts his family. In this case, he is to declare himself her judge and executioner in the name of his Master. She is not a true woman, but a mere animal, a descendant of the accursed race of Cain—*Tue-la!* That is M. Dumas's last word, and one may admit that it is tolerably decisive. In England the youngest Dumas would have afterwards to go through disagreeable explanations with a judge and jury. In France we presume that he might count upon a verdict of extenuating circumstances, and would go free with the applause of his fellow-citizens. He might set up for a writer of novels and a preacher of elevated morality, and might endeavour to find a second wife who should not belong to the accursed race of Cain.

To criticize this nonsense seriously would be too absurd; and we suspect that M. Dumas would be the first to laugh at us for taking his irony too seriously, though we must confess that we should find it rather hard to distinguish between the serious and the sarcastic. It is the beauty of this style of writing that it is impossible to grasp any definite meaning except on pain of rendering oneself ridiculous. However, without arguing, we will venture a remark or two such as suggest themselves to a prosaic British mind. Although it is the fashion at the present moment to consider that, because the French were beaten by the Prussians, everything French is essentially corrupt, we must begin by saying that we do not believe for a moment that the ideal woman of French novelists is anything like a fair representative of the Frenchwoman of real life. Assuming, however, that the portrait drawn by them satisfies a certain tone of sentiment prevalent in a section of French society, M. Dumas's preaching illustrates the unhealthy state of the moral atmosphere which

inevitably results. Any virtuous priest, says M. Dumas, understands women far better than the most experienced Don Juan. We should add that there is another person who understands them still better—namely, the man of thoroughly healthy mind, who has not sought his knowledge either in the confessional or by less legitimate methods. If women have to choose, as M. Dumas seems to think, between a morbid asceticism which condemns all natural instincts on the one hand, and a profound brutality, thinly covered with social polish, on the other, we can only pity them, and must certainly approve their choice of the first alternative. Still the sentiment, as indicated by M. Dumas too plainly for us to follow him, is radically unhealthy in both cases. The normal husband, as he represents him, is a Don Juan submitting to the respectabilities for pecuniary or other motives; and the priest is a narrow-minded bigot who regards the conventual as the only true virtues, and tries, by acting upon feminine superstition, to convert every woman into a nun. If sentiment varies between these opposite poles, and oscillates between pure animalism and pure asceticism, we must certainly admit that both the husband and the priest are in great need of reform. There is a higher and better type of woman, in France and elsewhere, though it is probable that the type thus described is not uncommon where the Roman Catholic religion is acting on a corrupt society. The result then seems to be, that the only difference between moral and immoral preaching is that the one panders indirectly, and the other directly, to the tastes of a prurient imagination.

THE LIVINGSTONE MYSTERY.

THE letter of the President of the Geographical Society helps to explain the present position of the Livingstone mystery. Up to Wednesday not a single letter from the Doctor had reached the Society, either directly or indirectly through the Foreign Office. The President had, however, an opportunity of perusing a batch of despatches from Dr. Kirk, enclosing copies of letters addressed to him by Dr. Livingstone; but these letters are devoid not only of geographical information, but of any particulars as to the Doctor's own condition and proceedings, and refer exclusively to the alleged misconduct of the parties employed in conveying supplies during the last three years from the coast to the interior. Other letters, the posting of which had been delayed, have since come to hand, and are said to be full of similar complaints, although in one of them the Doctor, in his delight at exchanging the patent leather "abominations" to which he had been reduced for a pair of stout leather boots, proclaims an amnesty to all the world. It appears that Dr. Livingstone is under the impression that he has been very badly used by his old friend Dr. Kirk and by others of his countrymen, his only information on the subject being presumably derived from Mr. Stanley. We gather that the letters to Dr. Kirk, like all other letters hitherto known to have been written by Livingstone, are extremely brief and of the most matter-of-fact character. In his preface to his first book of travels he remarked that literary composition was so laborious and painful to him that he would rather go through all his journeys once more than write another book. It would seem, however, if we may accept as genuine two letters purporting to be addressed by Livingstone to the proprietor of the *New York Herald*, that several years' seclusion in the deserts of Africa, and complete isolation from civilized society have imparted a novel fluency to his pen, and have enabled him to cultivate what is called fine writing with remarkable success. It is not stated whether the letters published by the *New York Herald* are in Livingstone's own handwriting, or whether they were dictated by him to Mr. Stanley. It would seem that Livingstone has profited by his residence in the heart of Africa to acquire a considerable familiarity with American literature and slang, and to hit off the racy, sub-erotic flavour of the *New York Herald* with conspicuous success. Unfortunately the fragmentary geographical notices which are contained in these letters are, as Sir H. Rawlinson puts it, "too vague" in their present shape to admit of useful scientific discussion. Indeed they contain at least one statement which is obviously and even glaringly inaccurate, and which it is odd that so cautious and careful a geographer as the Doctor should have permitted himself to make. Sir Henry remarks that the theory ascribed to Dr. Livingstone in the second of these letters of a connexion between the great line of drainage which he has traced from twelve degrees south, and the Bahr-el-Ghazal, or Petherick's Western Nile, is simply impossible. The German traveller Schweinfurth has visited the watershed from which the sources of the Bahr-el-Ghazal descend, and it is very little south of the parallel of Gondokoro. It would appear that the river system which Livingstone is said to have followed up to a point in about latitude four degrees south, and longitude twenty-five degrees east, must either empty itself into the south-west corner of Baker's Lake, or must be the upper course of the Congo. Anybody who will take the trouble to consult a map of Africa on which the latest results of exploration have been laid down cannot fail to agree with the President of the Geographical Society, that so far from the Nile question being settled, as was so confidently announced, the solution of the problem is more perplexing and uncertain than ever, if the statements in those letters can be relied on. Mr. Stanley, who is now in London, will probably not object to afford the officers of the Geographical Society an opportunity of inspecting any of Livingstone's manuscripts which he may have in his possession; and when the British Association meets in the

course of the next fortnight at Brighton we shall no doubt hear something more on the subject.

Dr. Livingstone is described by Mr. Stanley as being, when he parted from him, "fleshy and stoutish," with an enormous appetite, and weighing, by conjecture, for the Doctor refused to go into the scales, about one hundred and eighty pounds. The letters to the *New York Herald* which have been published under, or as the Americans would say over, his name, would seem to show that he is in good spirits, and has developed among the savages of Africa a taste for what may be called the gay side of life, which is perhaps somewhat odd in an elderly Scotch missionary. There can be no doubt that the sort of letters he has written will be much more to the taste of the *Herald's* readers in New York than dry geographical details such as would have gratified Sir H. Rawlinson, or old Sir Roderick if he had been alive. Indeed the writer apologizes at the outset for supposing that those whom he is addressing are akin to the old lady who relished the paper only when it contained "good racy bloody murders." We are treated to a strong dose of the horrors of the slave trade, enlivened by some comic touches, and warm passages about the voluptuous beauty of African Venuses. That the slave trade is a "gross outrage of the common law of mankind," and "presents innumerable obstacles to intercourse between the different portions of the human family," and that it is "partly owing to human cupidity, and partly to ignorance among the more civilized of mankind of the blight which lights chiefly on the more degraded," are no doubt observations which are excellent in themselves, but they are hardly worth fetching all the way from the interior of Africa. It is also true that "piracy on the high seas was once as common as slave-trading is now," and it might be added, on the authority of Mr. F.'s aunt, that there are, or used to be, mile-stones on the Dover Road. The extraordinary thing is, that these letters tell us so little about Livingstone himself, or about the tribes among whom he has latterly been sojourning, and are made up of stale talk about the familiar atrocities of slavery. We are asked to distinguish between the negroes of the West Coast, brutalized by a long course of slavery and rum, and the robust and manly population of the interior. It is suggested that if a comparison were instituted between the Manyema taken at random and the members of the Anthropological Society, all clad alike in kilts of grass cloth, the savages would certainly not be pronounced, in appearance at least, the inferior race. Baudelaire would have sympathized with the Doctor's raptures over the black women. He is quite gushing about "the dears" and "hussies," with their "charming black eyes," "nicely rounded limbs," and "fine, warm brown skins" tattooed all over. Cazembe's Queen would, we are assured, be esteemed a real beauty either in London, Paris, or New York, notwithstanding the hole she has drilled in the tip of her "fine, slightly aquiline nose." Livingstone in one of his letters to Sir R. Murchison, received in 1869, said he sometimes doubted whether he should have allowed his enthusiasm for geographical research to draw him away from the mission of putting down the slave-trade, to which he had intended to devote himself, and there can be no doubt of his profound and earnest abhorrence of this iniquitous traffic. If the language of the letters now published is not exactly that to which we have been accustomed in the Doctor's brief, prosaic communications, the sentiments and opinions which are expressed on this subject may at least be recognized as his. There is probably some ground for the complaints which are made of the Banians as the chief promoters of the slave trade, and of the cruelties of which they are guilty; and the subject will no doubt receive the attention of the Consular authorities.

The Doctor's first letter to the *Herald* is more in his usual style, and free from the romantic extravagance of the second. It is impossible to imagine anything more startling and bewildering to a man in his position than the sudden appearance of an American newspaper reporter at the head of an expedition which had been organized to search for him. There can be no doubt that Mr. Stanley and his employer are entitled to the fullest credit for the enterprise they have displayed in this affair. Mr. Stanley had had a little experience of Abyssinian travelling, but he knew nothing of the interior of Southern Africa, nothing of the languages, customs, and ways of managing the natives. He plunged into the desert with his life in his hands, and the chances of his ever returning alive were altogether against him. It is strange to find the simple, unquestioning devotion and loyalty of the "Dougal Cratur" turning up in a newspaper Correspondent of our own day. Mr. Stanley evidently knows nothing and cares nothing about geographical research. Till his employer suggested the idea of going to seek Livingstone, he had probably never given two thoughts to his existence. He went to Africa to find the Doctor if possible, but that was only a secondary object—a means to an end; the object was to glorify the *New York Herald*, to give it something to swagger and brag about, and to make the world talk of it. Mr. Stanley has accomplished a difficult and courageous task, but it is unfortunate that so little should have come of it. We are told that Livingstone was alive and well in the middle of last March, and had received part of the supplies purchased by Dr. Kirk out of the Government grant of 1,000*l.*; and that is the sum of the whole story. Anything may have happened since then; and there appear to be grave doubts whether the stores provided out of the funds of the Search and Relief Expedition will ever reach their destination. Lieutenant Dawson, who went out in command of this expedition, is now in America, and it

would be premature to judge his conduct until we have his explanations. But it is impossible not to regret the hasty abandonment of the enterprise. The theory suggested in one of Dr. Kirk's letters, that Livingstone would have resented the appearance of the Expedition as poachers on his manor and rival aspirants for the geographical laurels he has made sure of winning for himself, appears to us to be childish and absurd. It was important that personal communication should be established with the veteran explorer, and that it should be made quite certain that he got the supplies collected for him; and if, when the Expedition arrived, he did not choose to take the members of it with him on any of his journeys, they would naturally respect his wishes. As it is, the stores have been sent on under an Arab leader, of whose "energy," or, in other words, we suppose, courage and good faith, reasonable doubts appear to be entertained. If the Expedition had gone on, they would not have had the credit of bringing the first news of Livingstone, but they would have fulfilled the important mission with which they were entrusted, of succouring Livingstone and affording him such assistance as he required. The simplicity and directness of Mr. Stanley's proceedings contrast favourably with the dawdling and dallying, the doubts, vacillation, and petty squabbles of the English Expedition. There seems to have been as much signing of papers as if they had been going before a Vice-Chancellor instead of into the heart of Africa. A leader who cannot keep his men in order except with documents is not likely to do great things. It is unfortunate that the Expedition should have been given up; but if, as Sir H. Rawlinson hints, a new one may be required, it is to be hoped it will be composed of explorers less addicted to personal differences and to the signing of documents. Meanwhile it is just possible that the next news we shall hear of Livingstone may come from Sir S. Baker, who is working from the north towards him with a strong force.

FULDA.

IT needs a certain effort of the imagination to call up the idea of a Prince-Abbot, and a Prince-Abbot too still living and reigning in times which seem not so very far removed from our own. A Prince-Bishop is strange enough; still the episcopal function carries with it a certain notion of jurisdiction and authority which may easily enlarge its borders from spiritual into temporal matters. Of the Prince-Bishop too we have among ourselves a certain shadow in the Lord-Bishop, and forty years back the Palatines of Durham and Ely had not quite lost all pretensions to the higher title. In short the secular clergy, high and low, must abide in the world; discharging duties which are at least closely akin to those of government, they have in all times and places slipped very easily into the actual exercise of temporal power. The thing has seemed to have no such very great incongruity about it, whether it has taken the form of a parish priest sitting as a justice in Petty Sessions, of a Bishop giving his vote in the House of Lords, or of a Primate of Mainz holding the first place in the election of Kings, and acting as the Arch-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire throughout the Kingdom of Germany. We might even go a step further, but we are afraid of getting on too dangerous ground. Some people may in all ages have disapproved of the particular instances which we have chosen, but we are not aware that the temporal functions either of the parson, the Bishop, or the Primate-Elector, have ever been formally declared to be the mark of the beast. But when we move from the secular clergy to the regular, the holding of temporal functions becomes clothed with far greater incongruity. The secular priest lives in the world to look after other men's souls; so the transition is not so very amazing if he is also set to do something in the way of looking after their bodies. But the theory of the monastic life is that the monk has nothing to do with either the souls or the bodies of other people, but that he goes out of the world to look after his own soul. It seems the strangest turning about of things that a man who has thus gone out of the world to look after his own soul should, by virtue of having so done, be called back into the world to look after both the souls and the bodies of other people. Yet such has been the case in different degrees in every place where the monastic system has taken deep root. The monks have been both better and worse than their profession. In the earliest and best stage of monasticism in every Western country, the monks, instead of shutting themselves up in a selfish care for their own souls, everywhere proved the greatest of benefactors to all around them. They were, yet more than the secular clergy, not only the spiritual instructors, but the temporal civilizers, of their neighbours and converts. It was they who reclaimed the wild land; it was they who taught arts to the wild people; it was they who, somewhat later, systematically preserved the annals of past times. Though some of the best of the mediæval historians belonged to the secular clergy, yet it was only among the monks, as at our own St. Alban's, that there grew up a kind of schools of the prophets which handed on the torch from one generation to another. Yet it is plain that in all these good works the monks were doing something beyond their own proper duty as monks. They were doing something beyond prayer and contemplation, beyond even the widest interpretation of almsdeeds. Indeed, almsdeeds might seem inconsistent with the perfection of monastic virtue, for almsdeeds imply worldly goods on the part of the almsgiver, and the true monk ought in strictness to have no worldly goods at all. But the strict carrying

out of the rule of poverty was in its own nature impossible. Even monks needed food, raiment, and shelter; but a hovel, a gown, and a loaf of bread are just as much property as palaces and great estates. The doctrine that, though each monk in his own person could hold nothing, yet the society might hold whatever it could lawfully get, easily paved the way for such odd results as that of a man who had gone out of the world to take heed to his own soul becoming thereby one of the temporal princes of the earth. The monastic society could not get on without property; land was the almost only available form of property; and land almost everywhere carried with it more or less of something like temporal dominion. In a country where the central power was strong, the temporal dominion of the monastic body might not go beyond such rights and powers as were involved in the mere lordship of a manor. But in a country where the central power was weak, where every landowner, every city, every free community, had a tendency to grow into a sovereign prince or commonwealth, monasteries followed the general law. The monk had by the necessity of the case become a landlord; from a landlord he gradually grew into a sovereign. The change was strange, but it was natural, perhaps under the circumstances it was unavoidable, by which the lowly missionary planted by St. Boniface on the banks of the Fulda grew into the Abbott, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and Chancellor to the Empress, and Primate throughout all Germany and Gaul.

It may be doubted whether this last dignity, carefully recorded on the tombs and the works of the Abbots of Fulda of the eighteenth century, carried with it at that time any very burdensome duties, or whether it would have met with much practical acknowledgment in any part of Gaul except that which was also part of Germany. Then it is as well to bear in mind that, down to the general crash of all things, there was still a *Dux Francia* at Würzburg, and that both at Prier and at Fulda the Empire still had its Chancellor for its provinces of Gaul. But, before all such things were swept away, a change had come over Fulda, and we may even be tempted to say that the place had lost its special characteristic. In the course of the last century the ecclesiastical princes of Fulda seem to have been tired of being simply Abbots in their own church, and of being driven, if they wished to assume, not only the episcopal garb, but the full episcopal character, to seek it in some imaginary bishopric in some distant part of the world. Thus one of the Abbots of that time bears on his tomb the further title of Bishop of Themiskyra. The choice of the see was perhaps not inappropriate. The Chancellor of the Empress—*Diva Augusta*, as she appears in the legend—might not untily hold a bishopric whose see lay among the Amazons. But soon afterwards the strictly abbatial succession of Fulda came to an end. In 1772 the Abbot of Fulda became a Bishop of Fulda, and a Bishop of Fulda, as those who are interested in modern German ecclesiastical politics know, there still is. The case of Fulda is much the same as that of the kindred ecclesiastical principality of St. Gallen. At St. Gallen indeed the Abbot remained till the time of general destruction, but here too the ancient Abbot is now represented by a Bishop, and in both cases ecclesiastical history has, in the eye of the antiquary, suffered through the long continuance of the succession of ecclesiastical rulers. That is to say, both at Fulda and at St. Gallen the ancient minster has given way to a church in the barbarous taste of the eighteenth century. Had Fulda, like Lübeck and Marburg, fallen into Lutheran hands, the building might have looked squalid and dingy and been choked with pews and galleries; but the memorials of antiquity would still have been there; the ancient roodloft might still have borne the rood and its attendant figures, and the triptychs over each altar might still have displayed the choicest works of the mediæval chisel and the mediæval pencil. But, because Fulda still kept her ecclesiastical sovereigns, because the old zeal and bounty still lived on, therefore, as far as the great minster is concerned, ancient Fulda is utterly swept away. An Italian church, not especially striking even in its own class, covers the ground where the first foundation of St. Boniface had grown into the greatest monastic church of Germany. All that has been preserved from the ancient building is a single figure of Charles the Great, placed against the modern wall. But the minster, even in its new guise, still keeps what in ecclesiastical and even historical eyes must ever be its choicest treasure. There still sleeps, though within a shrine of no ancient workmanship, the apostle of the German land, the man whom converted England sent to enlighten her kinsfolk who were still in darkness, the patriarch of the long succession of ecclesiastical lords alike of Mainz and of Fulda, the man who placed the Frankish crown on the head of the first royal Karling. Boniface at Mainz and Fulda, to Englishmen he sounds more our own by his first English name of Winfrith. It is something for one of the land of his birth journeying in the land of his adoption to climb the Marienberg, the hill of pilgrimage which looks down on Fulda and its minster, and to turn from the resting-place of the martyr at his feet to the Western sun, pointing as it were to the isle which is at once his own land and the land of Winfrith.

From the height of Marienberg, crowned by a church and monastic buildings in the same uninteresting style as the minster itself, we look down on Fulda, with its river and its surrounding hills, on the steeples of the minster and the secondary churches, and on the one surviving tower of the once monastic fortress. Among the group of buildings there is one, less likely perhaps than some others to catch the eye in a distant view, but which on a nearer approach is seen to be a building of an unusual outline, and which

in truth proves to be one of singular interest, alike in its own architectural design and as being the one surviving monument of ancient Fulda. This is the small monastic church of St. Michael, standing on higher ground just above the minster, whose outline cannot fail at once to strike the eye as having a most distinctive character of its own. At first sight it might pass as an example of an arrangement rare both in Germany and in England, the Wimborne and Purton plan of a single western and a single central tower. Such an arrangement is uncommon alike in England, where few churches have so many as two towers, and in Germany, where so many, even of not very large churches, are not satisfied with so few as two. In this case each tower is crowned with a spire, but it will soon be felt that the central tower and its spire are neither square nor octagonal, but round. This alone is unusual, and another glance will show a round projection between the transept and the choir which might for a moment pass for an apse of somewhat eccentric form. But, when the same projection is seen to the west between the transept and the nave, the thing becomes more puzzling. The visitor will perhaps hardly get to the bottom of the mystery till he goes within the building. The truth is that a round church, with its surrounding aisle, St. Vital or Aachen on the smallest possible scale, has been, as it were, swallowed up by a cross church of the usual form, the original round being so small as to be treated, like the round of St. Sepulchre's at Cambridge, as a tower, and to become to all appearance the central tower of an ordinary cross church finished with a second tower at the west end. This last is a fair example of the usual German Romanesque tower with midwall shafts; but it is of course on the round, whose real character at once strikes the eye as we enter the building, that the attention of the visitor fixes itself. And yet the round, as we see it above ground, has really only a secondary place in the history of this small building. Go down below; an ancient crypt of the reign of Lewis the Pious, the remains of a church consecrated in 830, is still there, and in its low vaults and intricate passages it still contains the empty tombs which once held two of the early Abbots of Fulda, Sturm and Ratgar. All is plain and rough, with no architectural forms save a single central pillar, short, massive, and with nothing that can be called a base, but whose capital reproduces, as well as Fulda masons of the ninth century could reproduce it, the form of the Ionic capital, and that not in its Roman, but in its older Grecian form. It is singular to compare the rude striving after the highest known form of art shown in this obscure building of the days of the son, with the forms which art could reach in the same land in the days of the father. Compare the crypt of St. Michael's of the days of Lewis with the work with which the gateway of Lorsch was adorned in the days and by the gift of Charles himself. The difference is that between the resources at the command of an Abbot of Fulda, working with such workmen and such materials as his own land could furnish, and the resources at the command of a King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans.

But the time was coming when the little church of St. Michael at Fulda was to show more successful attempts at reproducing the art of Southern lands. The church was again consecrated in 1092, and this doubtless marks the rebuilding of the round, the addition of the western tower, the general recasting of the church in its present shape. The round, as it now stands, is formed by six columns, supporting a plain triforium and clerestory, the latter of which forms at once a lantern for the interior, and what at the first misleading glance seem to be the belfry windows of the central tower. But, if the architects of the eleventh century made their work plain, they at least made use of forms which allowed the artist of later times to add enrichment at pleasure. Two of the columns of the round still keep the rude form of capital so common in the earlier German Romanesque, ruder by far than our own cushion, but suited beyond all others to be, as its original makers no doubt often meant it to be, carved out at any later time into forms of greater richness. The other capitals have been cut out into rich and highly classical shapes, which can hardly be earlier than the later days of the twelfth century; they belong to the best and most adorned form of the German Romanesque, the style of Frederick's palace at Gelnhausen. But at Fulda the Ionic or Composite capital is allowed to retain its natural and purely architectural form. It was only in the immediate presence of Augustus that it was absolutely needful for the volute to take the form of the Imperial eagle.

Deeply interesting as this little church is on every ground, there is a feeling of disappointment at finding it the one memorial of the ancient days of Fulda. Besides St. Michael, a single ordinary mediæval church and the wall-tower already spoken of seem to be the only objects in Fulda which have any claim to rank as antiquities at all. Of modern buildings there is abundance, almost crushing abundance, for a town of such small size. Such is the almost invariable fate of the capital of a small principality, especially of an ecclesiastical principality. It dies of its own rank and of the antiquity to which it owes its rank. Because Fulda is one of the oldest ecclesiastical sites in Germany, because it is one of those whose ecclesiastical lords retained their rule the longest, for that very reason it is poor in ecclesiastical remains as compared with a crowd of places of far less historical dignity. Yet, after all, we may raise the question whether it is not less offensive to see an ancient church wholly rebuilt, as at Fulda and St. Gallen, than to see it utterly Jesuited, as at Würzburg. But to the true antiquary Fulda, after all, is not poor. St. Michael's, spared probably as being deemed unworthy of the care which was bestowed

in the destruction of the minster, itself well deserves a pilgrimage; and, whatever may be the form of the walls which shelter him, no man of either of the great branches of the Teutonic race should be able to pass unmoved by the last home of Winfrith of England, of Boniface of Fulda.

TRAMWAYS.

THE evidence given by the promoters of the London tramways before the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons furnishes an amusing illustration of the way in which people bring themselves to believe that whatever makes for their own profit ought at all hazards to be carried out, that all existing arrangements should yield to it, and that the world should be only too glad to be turned upside down in order to further so natural and laudable an object. When Brindley, the canal engineer, was asked what rivers were made for, he answered that he supposed they were meant to feed canals; and the tramway people appear to be equally convinced that highways have been constructed for the sole purpose of being some day converted into tramway routes. Mr. T. K. Rowbotham, the manager of the tramways, is satisfied that the opposition to them is "only a matter of feeling," and that there is no real inconvenience for anybody to complain of. Mr. Rowbotham's notions of public convenience are perhaps explained by his answer to another question. He suggests that the "dead-end," or terminus, of a tramway, where the horses are unhooked from one end of the car and harnessed to the other, and where there are sometimes as many as half-a-dozen long, lumbering vans waiting at a time to get in or out, might be established "on the blank side of a street, opposite a church, or anything of that kind." We thus arrive at the conclusion that churches have been built in order to provide a blank side of the street which the tramway cars can appropriate as a terminus. Now that tramways have been invented, the millennium has clearly arrived, and going to church is already an exploded superstition. We are further assured that a couple of carriages or carts can never require to pass each other on the same side of a street; but, admitting for the sake of argument that the ordinary traffic of the streets suffers inconvenience from being compelled to move in Indian file, one vehicle behind another in a single line, the tramway speculators are good enough to remind us that they do not object to the centre of the road, which they have appropriated, being used by the general public whenever their own cars do not happen to be passing that way. Mr. Rowbotham ridicules the idea of a tramway being an obstruction in a street, "because the car is passing, and moves away, leaving the street to be occupied by other conveyances." Mr. Hopkins, the engineer of the tramways, also makes a great point of the cars "leaving the road free after they have passed." It is with a certain feeling of surprise and an overpowering sense of the public spirit and liberality of the Tramway Companies that we find them making this concession gratuitously to the public. It is a proof of the disinterestedness and pure philanthropy with which these enterprises are conducted that the Companies are quite willing that the public should have the free use of its own roads whenever they are not wanted for the cars. The extent of this concession may be measured by the statement that the cars pass each other every two or three minutes, and that at some points, as for example, the south side of Westminster Bridge, where the street narrows, there are, as Mr. Hopkins says, "something like over three hundred carriages arriving and departing during the day," and the road is frequently blocked with a crush of cars, waiting either to get into the terminus or to start on a fresh journey. Allowing for the cars overhanging the rails, a double line of tramway occupies at least fifteen feet in the middle of the road. The rest of the traffic is consequently wedged up in a narrow space on each side, and has to run the risk of grazing the kerb-stones, and perhaps getting on the pavement, or of coming into collision with the cars. The middle of the road is free only on condition that all vehicles using it shall, at their peril, get out of the way of the cars. It must be remembered that the cars are not only very long, but that they are the same breadth, six feet, from end to end, the wheels being underneath. It is therefore much more difficult to pass them than it is to pass a carriage or omnibus, the extreme width of which is only where the boxes of the wheels stand out. There is abundant and conclusive evidence as to the injury which is inflicted on all kinds of traffic by the tramways. Wheels are wrenched or broken off, carriages strained and started, and the people in them bumped, jerked, and occasionally thrown out. A lady who is much accustomed to drive herself in London has borne testimony to the peril of crossing a tramway, the wrench to the wheels, the difficulty of turning, and the danger of a car, or perhaps one on each side, pounding down on you, especially in streets which are not perfectly straight. Drivers of the other sex are equally emphatic in their complaints of the insufferable nuisance of the tramways. Captain Baynes, one of the District Superintendents of Police, states that the rule of the road has been thrown into utter confusion. It is, he says, impossible to meet or to pass the cars in the ordinary way for fear of collision. People who drive are kept in a wretched state of discomfort and apprehension; and evidence was given before the Committee of a number of bad accidents which have occurred. In the Camberwell Road, the thoroughfare is so narrow

that the cars almost graze the pavement, and pedestrians as well as drivers are put in serious peril. We can hardly be surprised that rents have fallen along some of the tramway routes.

We are not aware that any of the Railway Companies, which have had to purchase the ground required for their lines at a high price, ever made it a grievance that they should have to bear the cost of keeping up their permanent way, with its bridges and embankments. It would appear, however, that the tramway speculators consider themselves rather hardly used in having to make good the portion of the public highway which they have obtained for nothing for the purposes of their business, and from the use of which they derive their dividends. The evidence of the officials is full of complaints of the expense to which the Companies are put in this respect, and glowing pictures are drawn of the boon which is thereby bestowed on the ratepayers. It is true that the latter are spared the expense of keeping up the middle of the road, but it may be doubted whether this will prove a genuine economy when the heavy and incessant repairs which are required by the rest of the road are taken into account. The Brixton Road is said to be intersected by six ruts, four rails, and two edges of stone. When the rails are laid down, they split the road into different sections, and break up the key of the paving; one section wears down another, and the result is what Captain Baynes calls "the frightful state" to which the roads traversed by tramways have now been reduced. Captain Tyler, the Inspector of the Board of Trade, gives evidence to much the same effect. He has observed that a macadam road usually sinks below the level of the tramway pavement. Ruts are worn where the paving stones have been laid higher than the tramway rails, and the wheels, hugging the rails, grind a groove in the stones. The stones sink away from the tramway, and there is sometimes an inch or a couple of inches of difference in level between the two. It can readily be conceived that these remarkable variations of level break the dull, easy monotony of a drive along the ordinary highways of a civilized country, and provide the travellers and their horses with all the excitement of a journey along a "corduroy" track in the backwoods of America. The blessings of the tramways are infinite. Not only do they relieve ratepayers from keeping up the roads, but they regulate the traffic and render the police unnecessary. Mr. Rowbotham, whose candid faith in trams as a providential dispensation is quite refreshing in these days of scepticism and indifference, is clear that they "assist the other traffic" very much indeed; "they do what the police try to do, marshal the traffic." From a subsequent portion of his evidence we gather that part of the "assistance" rendered to other traffic consists in driving cabs and omnibuses off the road. Mr. Rowbotham has perhaps heard of making a solitude and calling it peace, but we should be sorry to diminish the credit to which he is entitled for the bold originality of his ideas. It must be obvious to the meanest capacity that the traffic of the streets will be greatly simplified when tramways become the only means of conveyance, and all other vehicles are given up. Meanwhile, as long as other traffic is allowed, the tramway-cars will help to "marshal" it, or, in other words, compel it to keep out of their way, under penalty of a collision. They may also be trusted to sharpen the intelligence and promote the vigilance of drivers. A remarkable instance of this is given in the evidence of Superintendent Gernon. There is a hay-market in the Mile End Road, and formerly there was great difficulty in keeping awake the waggoners who had arrived in the early morning. They used to go to sleep on their waggons, and were frequently pulled up before the magistrate and fined. Since the trams have been introduced the waggoners have displayed the most exemplary wakefulness; in the midst of the perils to which they are exposed, they feel, no doubt, that a nap might be dearly purchased. It is admitted by the officials of the tramways that accidents occasionally occur, but we need hardly say that this is owing to the perversity and wickedness of the public. "Sometimes," says Mr. Hopkins, the engineer, "cabs or carriages have run into the tramway carriages." As all other traffic is assumed to be bound to get out of the way of the tramway-cars, the latter being on their own ground, and the public mere interlopers, it is obvious that when an accident happens, it is the cars which are run down, and that they never run down anybody. The public may have a certain right to use the roads, but only at its own risk and peril.

It might have been expected that Mr. Peel, who represented the Board of Trade on the Committee, would have been above the cheap claptrap of suggesting that the opposition to the tramways is "a question of the upper ten thousand, as illustrated by the lady in her carriage, against the general public who are inconvenienced by tramway accommodation." The public which does not use the tramways happens to be the majority of the population; and Captain Tyler, whose evidence should have some weight at the Board of Trade, stated that "all who use vehicles other than tramway-cars are more or less inconvenienced by them." Light carts, spring-vans, gigs, cabs, omnibuses, are quite as much disturbed and endangered as the broughams and victorias of the aristocracy. It is contended by the supporters of the tramways that they are a substitute for omnibuses and cabs; for omnibuses they may be, but it is ridiculous to speak of the tramway-car as a substitute for a cab. Nobody whose time is of any value, or who is on a pressing errand, can afford to ride on the tramway—the cars, taking the journey through, often going more slowly than the omnibuses—but cabs are used by the poorer classes when they have important business on hand which demands despatch, or in any other emergency. It is monstrous that people hurrying to

catch trains, to summon a doctor, or on some other matter of life or death, should be hustled out of the way, obstructed and delayed for the sake of the dozing passengers of a leisurely tramway. Sir J. Lubbock in a recent debate in the House of Commons protested against the idea that the highest happiness of the working classes of this country was to consume the greatest possible quantity of cheap tea. It is equally preposterous to assume that their happiness is bound up with jolting in twopenny trams. It is desirable that everything should be done to improve the omnibus service, but some means might perhaps be contrived of doing this without exposing all other kinds of traffic to annoyance, delay, and danger. The freedom of the road cannot be sacrificed for the advantage of private speculators, or even for the convenience of a large body of people who like to ride in cheap omnibuses. The experience of the tramways which have already been constructed shows that they have a tendency to acquire a monopoly of the roads they traverse; all other traffic shuns those roads as much as possible, and as the relays of tramway-cars become more numerous, the lines are constantly occupied, and the cars follow each other in rapid succession. It is impossible to work a public highway as if it were a railway, with traffic passing only in a direct line from end to end. The people who go straight along a road are a small minority of those who use it. The tramway system makes no allowance for the crossing traffic, for vehicles entering or leaving a street at every few paces, or for stopping traffic, such as waggons loading or delivering goods, and cabs and carriages at shop-doors. Whilst all other traffic has to give and take, to move now a little on one side, now on the other, and twine in and out, the tramway traffic pounds along in a fixed and rigid line, with, as one of the witnesses put it, a momentum that no other traffic possesses, a minimum power of pulling up, and a maximum necessity of going on. It has no elasticity, no power of twisting or accommodating itself to the flow of the vehicles around it; and it is impossible therefore that it can be otherwise than inconvenient and dangerous. The evidence of Mr. Haywood, engineer to the Commissioners of Sewers, Mr. J. Fowler, and Captain Tyler, in favour of roadways composed of Val de Travers and other kinds of asphalt, points to a probable solution of the problem. Because a granite causeway suits the tramways, it is proposed that macadam should be given up and granite substituted. This would be simple and absolute retrogression. The causeway is hard, noisy, destructive to vehicles, and dangerous to horses. Horses slip on asphalt when it is between wet and dry, but this can be remedied by keeping the roads in good order, and even when horses do fall on asphalt they rarely hurt themselves. With a smooth level pavement of this or some kindred substance tramways would be a superfluity. The whole road would be a tramway, and all that would be needed would be perhaps to broaden the tires of the wheels a little so as to give them a better grip. We should thus have all the advantages of tramways, with none of the annoyance and danger arising from the centre of the road being monopolized by a series of huge, lumbering vans ploughing along in a fixed rigid line, and casting the rest of the traffic rudely on each side to the peril of pedestrians and the ruin of shopkeepers. The Joint Committee has common sense on its side when it declares that it would be inexpedient by the establishment of vested interests in important streets to prejudice the introduction of new modes of laying down their surface, which may have the effect of benefiting all kinds of traffic equally, without creating any monopoly in the use of the public thoroughfares.

TIPPLING AND ADULTERATION.

THE publicans complain of the hardship of being expected to know a drunkard or a prostitute when they see one. It is not always easy to decide whether a man is drunk, and it must be less easy to decide whether a man is likely to become drunk. In some parts of the United States a woman having a drunken husband has a right to go to the keeper of a public-house and give him notice not to sell liquor to her husband. If the publican does sell liquor to the husband, he becomes responsible for what may be termed "consequential damages." In the States where this law prevails there is probably no great aggregation of people into towns. But in a densely populated neighbourhood it would be difficult for the publican to recognize the husbands whom he was prohibited to supply with liquor unless the law authorised their wives to sew labels upon their coats. We take the foregoing statement as to "consequential damages" from an American witness who was examined before the Committee on Habitual Drunkards, and a very wonderful statement it is. If the husband whose wife has given notice to the publican is supplied with liquor, and if after drinking it he knocks a man down or sets fire to a house, the publican has to pay damages. The same witness described the working of prohibitory laws in terms that deserve attention. "Our people," he said, "are restless and somewhat credulous, and we pass laws under the impression that they will execute themselves, but we are beginning to find out that they will not." A prohibitory law, in order to be effective, must find persons who complain of its violation. This is doubtless true, but in England such a law would hardly fail for want of persons to put it in operation. It may be that in Massachusetts, the prohibitory law being left to municipal officers to enforce, was allowed quietly to repose; but among ourselves the

Alliance would permit neither laws nor law officers to alumber. The law of Massachusetts has been several times altered. It now prohibits the selling of distilled spirits, but towns may vote to authorize the sale of ale or lager beer. "Cider is freed." This we take to mean that cider, which is produced in the district, may be sold everywhere without restriction. It is important to observe that in many places, both in the United States and in our colonies, a strong distinction is made between the sale of spirits and that of beer and cider. The beer is usually a lighter article than that which is consumed among ourselves. The cider is probably the same. Even in the States where prohibitory laws are enacted and nominally enforced, nobody can interfere with the trade in imported liquors if they are sold in the original package. The witness whose evidence we have now before us adds, "The prohibitory law itself admits of the sale of malt liquors and cider." But this general statement ought perhaps to be qualified by saying that the sale of cider is absolutely free, and the sale of beer may be permitted by a town's vote. Even with this qualification, however, it appears that prohibition in America does not, even in theory, go so far as fanatics desire to carry it in England. A prohibitory law for Devonshire that permitted the sale of cider would hardly be satisfactory to the Alliance. It may, however, be confidently asserted that no legislative or executive power could prevent the sale of cider in a district where it is commonly made. There is a law of the State of Iowa which prohibits the seller "from mixing any intoxicating liquor with beer, wine, or cider by him sold." It follows that the Legislature of that State, in opposition to the British Parliament, considers that beer, wine, and cider are not "intoxicating liquors."

This Committee collected much useful evidence, although they based upon it some strange and startling conclusions. They received from a Scotch physician a classification of drunkards which may be interesting. There is, he says, the regular drunkard, who keeps sober and attends to his business regularly during the day and gets drunk at night. Such men may carry on for many years without injury to themselves or others. "I have known," says the witness, "one case where a gentleman was carried to bed drunk every night for fifty years, and yet he made a large fortune, and was in the market every morning attending to his business. I do not think that these are cases requiring any interference." We agree with this sensible physician. But if the gentleman whom he mentions took his nightly allowance of liquor at a tavern, he would be liable to be intercepted before he could be carried to bed by a policeman, who would put him in the way of incurring cumulative penalties under the Bill now before the House of Commons. Another class of drunkards are the tipplers who take small glasses of whisky or spirits of some kind, or ale or beer, at intervals during the whole day. Some of these persons conduct themselves very well. Others, again, injure their business and their families. Another class are those whom the doctors call dipsomaniacs, and regard as proper subjects for restraint, under medical advice. It was observed by another physician that the statistics which are so much quoted upon platforms are of small value, and in this remark we entirely concur. It is obvious that an increased activity of the police in a particular district would produce an appearance of augmented drunkenness which might be contrary to fact. "As to the question whether intemperance is more or less prevalent, I should like to say that it is a question which it is perfectly impossible to answer, unless we had a statistical inquiry extending over a very great length of time." The impression of the witness is, that the increase, if increase there be, is not one of absolute amount, but rather of direction. Certain classes indulge more, and certain classes very much less, than they did. He thinks that amongst the rich, and especially the suddenly rich middle classes, drinking is increasing; but it is diminishing very much amongst persons of greater cultivation of mind. He thinks that it is diminishing amongst the labouring classes, except in certain special places, such as the great manufacturing towns. It is possible that, if this witness had been asked whether he thought that higher wages and shorter hours of labour were producing an increase of drunkenness, he might have answered in the affirmative, but it by no means follows that he would recommend early closing of public-houses as a remedy for the evil. It is supposed that there are many thousands of men who have strong appetites for physical indulgence, and find themselves amply provided with means to procure them. To pretend that the Bill now before Parliament, or any Bill that could be devised, will prevent those men from obtaining the drink which they desire, is like proposing to mop up a spring-tide. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will be pleased, and perhaps the Home Secretary will not be very sorry, to discover that the rise in wages largely augments the consumption of duty-paying articles. If any restriction were attempted upon the labouring class in the expenditure of its increased wages, that restriction would certainly be either evaded or forcibly put aside. If they cannot obtain beer easily, they will expend their money upon the more portable articles, gin and whisky.

The long discussion of this subject has, on the whole, promoted rational views; but it is unsatisfactory to observe that Mr. Bruce has not yet abandoned that purpose of propitiating the fanatics which produced his absurd proposal of last year. An American witness has given a description of the origin of prohibitive laws in his own country, which is fairly applicable to Mr. Bruce's Bills. The Legislatures of the various States, he says, are a

sort of outlet for the overflow of excitable public sentiment, and laws are often passed under pressure which the Supreme Court of the United States declares to be unconstitutional. "It was quite understood that it would be a good thing to pass the law for certain political reasons, and to leave the question of its constitutionality to the Supreme Court." It was probably understood by Mr. Bruce that it might be a good thing for the Government to propose a clause that might gratify the Alliance, while the question whether the clause should pass would rest with Parliament for decision. Mr. Bruce had persuaded himself a week ago that a concession of the Permissive Prohibitory principle might be made as regards the hours of closing public-houses. A member of the House touchingly complained that he had been pulled out of bed "in the middle of the night"—or, as ordinary mortals would have said, at noon—to hear from the Government this unexpected and unnecessary proposal. The magistrates of a district have ample means of knowing what its circumstances require, and are fully capable of making suitable regulations. It has been, as we believe, finally resolved by Mr. Bruce and his colleagues that the granting of licences shall be entrusted to the magistrates, and it is monstrous to propose that the control of licensed houses shall be partly placed in other hands. Writers and readers are alike weary of the subject of the legislative incapacity of the Home Office, but it is really impossible to abstain from expressing irritation and contempt at this last exhibition of the squeezable nature of Mr. Bruce. A question may arise whether the general convenience of a district, and not the prejudices of fanatics, requires that public-houses should be closed at ten o'clock or kept open till eleven. Surely the magistrates, assisted by the police, are competent to decide this question; or, if they are in any difficulty, the Home Office can assist them. It may well be asked for what purpose magistrates and police exist if they cannot deal with such a question as this. But we all know that they can deal with it perfectly well. The alteration of the hour of closing on Sunday afternoon from five to six o'clock has been carried by a large majority in the House of Commons; and, if this vote expresses the prevailing feeling out of doors, it will doubtless be maintained. We are not sure, however, that the alteration will be satisfactory to the metropolis. We entirely approve of the proposal for placarding convictions of adulteration, and we should like to see the same treatment applied to the same mischievous practice in other trades. It should be noted, however, that some high authorities have lately denied that adulteration of beer prevails to anything like the extent that is commonly supposed. This, at any rate, is a matter of fact capable of being ascertained; and of course, if there is no adulteration, there will be no placarding. It is difficult to enter into the spirit of the sympathy which appears to be entertained for dishonest tradesmen, whose dishonesty takes the form of reckless and injurious adulteration. An attempt has been made to show that a tradesman will be morally degraded by having a notice of his misconduct affixed to his shop; but, if he has been guilty of adulteration, he has already degraded himself, and the notice to the public may be expected to have the effect of preventing him from degrading himself any further in that way. The object is to check the robberies and poisonings which are practised under the form of adulteration, and if the punishment of placarding has that effect, it will have answered its purpose.

A SUNDAY MORNING WITH BEECHER.

WE have read with considerable interest, in a recent number of the *Evangelical Magazine*, a careful and appreciative description of divine service as conducted by the great Beecher. The writer is evidently one who has sought through the length and breadth of England for an edifying service, but has hitherto sought in vain. He has a special grievance against all our forms of worship, in church or chapel, but particularly against church services. He has found himself chilled by the coldness or offended by the dressiness of English clergymen. He has found the prayers "dry" and the Litany "long." He has gone to church "in a praying spirit"; but he has been "fairly prayed out of it." Nor has he derived much more satisfaction from the sermons. He has found that "in many places" they are nothing but "a stilted and unnatural humdrum of moral and religious platitudes," of which the best that can be said is that they have a soporific effect. Judging English sermons generally by the test of results, he is still less satisfied with them than with the prayers. He laments deeply over such a state of things; and mournfully reminds us that the final cause of a sermon is not to rock men to sleep. "Those," he says, "who wish to render intelligent as well as really reverent worship, cannot think too highly of the importance of good discourses." Such a man, a man whose soul is set upon "rendering intelligent worship," is evidently just the right man to act as Special Correspondent in America for an *Evangelical Magazine*; and it is very interesting to find that what he has hitherto failed to render in London, he has at last succeeded in rendering in New York.

Even in our conventional and monotonous Church of England there are many different modes of beginning divine worship. There is the unobtrusive mode, where the clergyman, wholly unattended, and altogether unnoticed by the congregation, strolls up the nave, much as he would stroll up the platform of a country railway-station, enters his reading-desk with about as much cere-

mony as he would get into an empty second-class carriage, and begins "I will arise," in a subdued and apologetic tone, as if he were really sorry to give his flock the trouble of standing up. There is the pompous mode, practised in some cathedrals, where the officiating dean or canon, preceded by the grammar-school boys, the choristers, the singing men, and the minor canons, just shows himself to an expectant audience in the doorway of the choir, and then, amid the thunders of the organ, and much rattling of brass rings, is obsequiously shut into a kind of carved closet by a black-robed attendant, and is sheltered from draught and from the impertinent stares of tourists by an elaborate mechanism of red curtains. But these and all other modes of beginning service are commonplace compared with the mode of Mr. Beecher, as any reader may see from the following extract from the *Evangelical Magazine*:-

Throwing carelessly his soft felt hat by the side of his chair, Beecher sits down for a few moments, and looks over the notices and letters placed on the tables. 'Tis said that the tailor makes the man; but he has certainly had but little hand in making Beecher a minister. A dark blue coat, with velvet collar, a white vest, and a black tie cannot be said to be very clerical. No white tie or closely-buttoned waistcoat does he wear. Seated in his easy chair, he looks leisurely round. If you are of his regular congregation, and absent, he will notice it. If you formerly attended his church, and have been away some time, when you return he will probably recognize you. A gentleman at present residing in England, but who when located at New York was a member of the Plymouth Church, told me he had been away several years, and then having to visit New York went on Sunday morning and took his old seat in the gallery. After a time he saw Beecher, as was his custom, running his eye over the crowded rows of people. It was passing the spot where he sat when it rested a moment on his face. Beecher put his finger to his forehead while he strove to recall the name. He remembered it and gave a smile of recognition. Afterwards, in the vestry, he gave him a warm welcome, and told him that he easily remembered him. "How," said my friend to me, "can one help loving a man who forgets you not after years of absence, but singles you out in a crowded audience, and at a time when his mind must necessarily have been filled with other pressing thoughts?"

The boldest Church reformer, the man who is willing to make the greatest changes in our forms of worship for the purpose of getting folks to church, may well despair when he reads this description. We may throw overboard this formulary and curtail that ceremony; liberal clergymen and devout laymen may meet together in half the great towns in the kingdom, and may discuss how to make our services popular; but if Mr. Beecher's mode of opening public worship is the only mode which seems thoroughly satisfactory to the Correspondent and subscribers of the *Evangelical Magazine*, what is the use of all our tinkering? A worshipper who is unable to maintain the "praying spirit" unless his prayers are "led" by a gentleman in a blue coat and velvet collar, and who considers the minister "cold" unless he winks at him when he catches his eye, is certainly not to be won over to churchmanship by any Church reforms that are likely to take place in our generation. English clergymen must be taken from a very different social class from that from which they now spring before we can hope to screw them up to Mr. Beecher's mark. It is possible that some clergyman who is prepared to sacrifice himself, and to depart from the ordinary routine of clerical customs and costume, might be found willing, for the sake of winning souls, to wear "a white vest" and a black tie instead of the customary black waistcoat and white tie. It is even conceivable that one of heroic mould might consent to try the effect of a dark blue coat and velvet collar. But we fear that none of the present race of English clergymen could ever be induced to bring his wide-awake into church and to fling it down by the reading-desk; or to loll back in his stall and stare leisurely at the ladies and gentlemen in the front nave seats. But if there should be any bold spirit prepared to adopt the Plymouth programme on any approaching Sunday, we venture to suggest that he should introduce a few variations, conceived entirely in Mr. Beecher's spirit, but adapted to the particular conditions of an English Church. Let him, on sitting down in the most comfortable stall he can select to represent Mr. Beecher's "easy-chair," and after looking through the "notices and letters" placed for him on the reading-desk, call up his senior curate and give him directions about answering some, and placing others in the waste-paper basket, to be handed by the senior churchwarden. While this is proceeding, let his junior curate inform him that he notices the butcher and greengrocer in their places in the north aisle, and inquire whether he has any orders for those tradesmen; and as soon as the requisite response has been made to this inquiry, let the junior churchwarden, assisted, so far as may be necessary, by sidesmen or lay deacons, bring him his cup of coffee, his roll, and his copy of the *Guardian* or *Record*. Any one can see that such a mode of opening divine service would be quite in harmony with the great Beecher conception; and we have no doubt that, if duly advertised in the *Daily Telegraph* for two or three preceding days, it would draw many to church who are seldom seen there, and would therefore, of course, tend to the propagation of piety.

The only respect in which Mr. Beecher appears at all to cling to the antiquated formalism of our church arrangements is in the retention of the term *vestry* for the private anteroom attached to his church. It is evident that a minister who both preaches and prays in a white vest, a blue coat, and a velvet collar, and who even brings his hat into church and flings it on the floor, can have no use for a vestry in the proper sense of the term. And as he has already converted the reading-desk, pulpit, and lecturn into the tables of common life, and for the stalls has substituted the ordinary "easy-chair," it is difficult to see why he should maintain the term *vestry* for the reception-room in which he so

cordially welcomed the gentleman from England. Would it not be better, and at any rate more satisfactory to the *Evangelical Magazine*, that he should logically follow up the analogy of his tables and of his easy-chair, and call his vestry a lobby?

Language almost fails the Correspondent of the *Evangelical Magazine* in his efforts to describe the merits of Mr. Beecher's prayers on the occasion of his visit to Plymouth Church. The most opposite and the most wonderful qualities seem to have been combined and blended in them. "They were fresh, warm, pulsating, reverent, God-ward breathings." The union of freshness and warmth, rarer in nature and in works of art than that even of sweetness and light, the happy mixture of pulsation with reverence wherewith Mr. Beecher "leads extemporaneously the devotions of his people," are very wonderful, and we fear that our Book of Common Prayer, much as it has been admired, and largely as it is now used even by the most eloquent Dissenting ministers, can hardly claim to display so much talent on any of its pages. Most of its prayers are undoubtedly "reverent"; and many of them, we hope, possess the occult quality of "God-wardness." Some of those in the Litany might, we think, fairly be called "warm," and others, such as some in the Baptismal Service, have always seemed to our prejudiced minds delightfully fresh. It is even possible that, if we knew exactly what it meant, we might find "pulsation" in some of them. But we should find it very difficult to name any prayer which combines all those qualities in the way in which Mr. Beecher is described as combining them. The Correspondent would have done us a real benefit if he could have copied out one of these prayers verbatim in his interesting paper; though, perhaps, after all, even one of Mr. Beecher's prayers would lose much of its effect on a congregation unless "led" in the appropriate costume—the white vest, the blue coat, and the velvet collar.

The crowning act of Mr. Beecher's ministrations, as of course it must be of all "intelligent worship," is the sermon; and the Correspondent gives a very full account of the specimen which he heard, which he says was a very fine one. We shall not attempt to describe this sermon, but shall simply give one extract from the Correspondent's description:—

Thus he illustrated his dislike to the practice of forcing too many doctrines into the small brains of children. It was oftentimes as an over-anxious mother might act if, when her child should be going out to a picnic, she should say to the servant, "Bring down the great trunk to put in all Edith's dresses." Edith comes in. "What for are you putting my dresses in that trunk, mother?" "Getting them ready for you to take with you to to-morrow's picnic." "But I shall not want more than my pink dress; let me leave the rest at home. I shall only be out for one day." "No no, my child; you do not know what you will need; and if these things do not come in useful to-morrow, they will some time; besides, they are all ready, and you must take them." The child takes the trunk, is cumbered with it all day, brings it home, keeps it unopened a long time, and when several years after she opens it, thinking to take out something that may be fitting to wear, finds that all the dresses are too small, and wonderfully old fashioned.

We feel it a privilege to have preserved for our readers this magnificent specimen of easy-chair oratory; and we feel sure that, after reading it over, they will be able to sympathize with the Correspondent of the *Evangelical Magazine*, when he exclaims in a paroxysm of enthusiasm, "Go to sleep in Beecher's church!—as little as would a lady in a draper's shop anxiously balancing the suitability and prices of different silks!" Those who, after this, do not long to join the blessed band of Beecherites must be suffering from something worse than invincible prejudice.

ANCIENT AND MODERN JEWELRY AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

THE Loan Exhibition of Jewelry and Personal Ornaments at the South Kensington Museum is one of very great interest. Perhaps not so attractive to the many as its more glittering modern rival on the other side of Exhibition Road, it is far more instructive to the art student, the historian, and the antiquary. We have indeed heard expressions of disappointment at its dullness, and it may be wanting in sensational effect from the absence of that which makes Regent and Bond Street shops so attractive to the superficial observer. Not that there is any lack of costly precious stones, those beauteous natural productions enhanced by art which excite a dreamy notion of indefinite value, and which have exerted from earliest time so powerful an influence over the cupidity of princes and of people; but that, in truth, the difficulties and artistic merits of the goldsmith's handicraft, and the nature and qualities, the varieties and excellences, of gems and jewels, are superficially estimated and little understood by the majority even of educated persons. Those who would care to enlarge their knowledge in this direction have an admirable opportunity presented to them by this exhibition, guided by Mr. Soden Smith's excellent, but too hastily prepared, Catalogue. The collection itself is conveniently arranged in upright cases, occupying that gallery of the Museum which our fair readers will recollect to have been appropriated last year to the show of Fans.

We can only attempt to glance at some of the more important objects, and we shall begin our examination, as does the Catalogue, with the first case presented to our view on entering from the staircase. This commencement is moreover chronological; and here we find those remarkable Italo-Greek objects shown by their fortunate possessor, Mrs. Burt. Two *fibula* of thin *repoussé* gold, formed as lions, are among the

largest of this class of ornament which have descended to us. A wreath of golden leaves, a noble ornament from Canosa; an Italo-Greek necklace of granulated beads (11) of very fine workmanship, as also (15) an ornament of gold of exquisite delicacy; and a rich display of earrings, many of remarkable design, are contributed by Mrs. Burt. Antique Egyptian jewelry is but poorly represented, almost the only characteristic piece being an inlaid *scarabeus* in the same case, belonging to Mr. Gee. The Museum specimens which have been brought upstairs for this occasion (comprised under 31) are public property, always open to view, and therefore need not be particularized. Among those belonging to the Rev. Montague Taylor (32) are examples of very fine work. Colonel Lane Fox shows some interesting objects from Idaliun (39). A pair of earrings and a gold pendant of *opus interrabile*, set with true emeralds (43-4), are of later Roman times, and date from the third century; they are good examples of the use of that stone (probably from the mines of Coptos), the knowledge of which, previously to the discovery of America, has been doubted by some writers; they are the property of Mrs. John Holland.

Not very attractive, but highly interesting, is the series of bronze ornaments inlaid with enamel, which are shown by that assiduous antiquary, Mr. John Evans, under Nos. 50-51. This style of ornament was in favour during the later Roman period, and seems to have been greatly developed in England, where examples of it frequently occur in Romano-Celtic graves. The examination of these leads us to Mr. Evans's important collection of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon ornaments, which, with the Merovingian, are arranged in the next division of the Catalogue. We must not, however, pass without a glance at Mr. Westropp's series of penannular *fibulae* (55). Colonel Lane Fox and Mr. Evans are the great contributors. Note the lunette ornaments, and the massive torques, the trumpet-ended *fibula*, and so-called ring-money (73, 76, &c.). Note also Macleod of Cadbold and Colonel Fox's Irish-Celtic brooches (80, 85, 86). Of Saxon workmanship in the Merovingian manner are the buckle (96) found at Postock, the cross (98) found at Stanton, with the finely-worked *fibula* (93), and Earl Amherst's brooch (101*), from Thanet. But the choicest example of the goldsmith's art, of Saxon or of Celt, is the portion of a dagger hilt (97) found near Windsor, and ornamented on a silver panel sunk in the bronze, with interlacing serpents, and foliated network of marvellous execution. We must not leave this case without noticing the rude ornaments from Western Africa, and from old Indian graves in Columbia.

A total change came over the spirit of the goldsmith's art at the period of the Renaissance. With the exception of a few rings, of which anon, this collection affords but little to illustrate the personal ornaments in use during the period intervening between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, a period of the darkest decadence, succeeded by the Gothic revival. Even of the fifteenth century we have few examples, and we find little to claim attention till the full tide of the *bel cinque cento* had set in, abundant in its productions of the richest ornamental character, and leaving to us many of its gorgeous jewels as its art receded from a less vigorous and less artistic taste. The objects exhibited of this period are rich and rare. The list begins with the Darnley jewel, contributed by Her Majesty, more remarkable for its historical authenticity than for its beauty of design, although the workmanship is excellent. It was made for the Lady Margaret Douglas, mother of Darnley, about 1576. Her Majesty also contributes a pendant formed as a mermaid. Singular for curious contrivance and rich ornamentation is that belonging to Mrs. Gordon Canning (131), formed of a portion of the arm-bone probably of a saint, which serves as a receptacle for other relics, and which is mounted in enamelled gold with precious stones, and figures of the Virgin and St. John. Another work of historic interest is the Penruddock jewel (134), a triangular pendant, set with a large sapphire, diamonds, rubies, &c. This was presented by Queen Katharine Parr to Sir George Penruddock about 1544. Again, the sapphire which occupies the centre of Lady Cork's star (137) is historical; having belonged to Elizabeth, and been conveyed by Robert Cary, who rode with it to Scotland, presenting it to James VI. as a token of her death. The jeweller's and painter's arts, as well as historic considerations, claim our attention to the three interesting and beautiful objects contributed by Lady Elizabeth Elliott Drake (143-5), to whom they have descended from the Admiral. One contains Hilliard's portrait of Drake, painted in 1581. Another is the noble jewel given by Queen Elizabeth in 1579 to the conqueror of the Armada, consisting of a richly enamelled and jewelled pendant, containing a portrait of the Queen by Hilliard, behind a finely executed cameo on one of those choice sardonyx which have descended to us from Roman times. The third was also a gift from Elizabeth to the Admiral, a star-shaped pendant set with precious stones, the central ruby engraved with the Royal orb and cross, and on the other side a smaller miniature of the Queen by Hilliard. The Hunsdon is another specimen of the finest quality of sardonyx, of unknown origin, but which, acquired by the Romans of Imperial times, were worked upon by some of the glyptic artists of the sixteenth century. This noble stone has been elaborately cut in cameo to represent the subject of Perseus and Andromeda. Lady Fitzhardinge is also the fortunate owner of the enamelled gold-bound prayer-book which Elizabeth wore at her girdle, and which contains the young King Edward's last prayer, written, it is believed, in Elizabeth's own hand.

But we must not dwell too long on the many fine pieces of enamelled jewelry. Passing several worthy of remark, we stop again at that exhibited by the Empress Eugénie—an open work pendant, of the most careful and finished execution and elegant design (158), said to have been worn by Henri II. Even among these choice examples Mr. Beresford Hope's ewer rises as a giant, though it is not more admirable than the enamelled gold missal cover (159) possessed by the Museum, and said to have belonged to Henrietta Maria. But perhaps the most elaborate work of this period is the necklet (165), a marvel in artistic design and minute execution of enamelled subjects, modelled in high relief. Its excellent preservation is remarkable. Lady Mount-Charles also shows one of the most elegant pendants (212), "Venus and Cupid in the Temple of Love."

Continuing our examination of the cases in that line, we pass by the Hungarian and Albanian mantle clasps, Brandenburgs, and other ornaments, and find ourselves in face of the Marlborough gems—too serious a matter to encounter within our present limits. The Devonshire gems are in the room beyond, with a wealth of finger rings to which we must return. Precious stones in all varieties are to be seen in the Hope and Townshend collections, but there are other contributors of rich treasures. Large brilliants are shown by Col. Dawson Damer, and the star, aigrette, and turban ornament of rose diamonds belonging to Lady Elphinstone are interesting as having been presented by the Sultan Selim III. to Lord Keith in 1801. Lady Sinclair's brilliant suite must excite envy until eclipsed by that belonging to the Duke of Portland (747-50). Messrs. Garrard contribute some very remarkable precious stones—brilliants of various colour, a priceless pearl of perfect form weighing 124 grains, sapphires, a charming cat's-eye, and ornaments of rich material and excellent design. There are but few examples of *asterias corundum*, of the rarer ruby, or the sapphire tint; one of the latter and more frequent colour (769) belongs to Mrs. R. Temple Frere. This curious variety, which shows a six-rayed star when placed in brilliant light, would be more highly prized if better known. The Orientals, who esteem it highly, have a curious myth:—

One morn a Peri at the gate
Of Heaven sat disconsolate.

For some unusual peccadillo, offended Allah had condemned her to everlasting imprisonment in the coldest stone; there she is shining still, a brilliant star glittering from the midst of a jewel which is colder to the touch than any other crystal. We ought not to omit here the interesting series of coloured stones exhibited by Professor Church under No. 815.

Ornaments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are abundantly represented. A Venetian neck-chain of the sixteenth century (174), "formed of hollow gold beads covered with minute circles of wire soldered on," is remarkable, and is placed among the works of more recent date. Hereabouts, also, are some fine modern works, as Castellani's copy of the *Cumæ Corona* (582), and others by the same artist. Lady Llanover's memorial clasp, given by William III. on the death of Mary to Ann Granville, is of a style of ornament of purely English character, much in vogue at that period for snaps, rings, &c., accompanied by black and white enamelling. There are some pretty devices among the Spanish ornaments of the last century exhibited by Sir Digby Wyatt, parallel in their rococo character to the Norman and some other European peasant jewelry, of which there is a rather superabundant supply. Pretty and gay as they may be, we prefer the stricter elegance of our English ornaments of the last century, imbued with the spirit which inspired Wedgwood and Flaxman; of such are some included under Nos. 348-50, &c., the property of the Baroness Burdett Coutts. The watches are not numerous; Sir R. Wallace shows some of early French make; but the richest is No. 465, belonging to the Countess of Cork, and made by Breguet for the First Napoleon. We must pass by *chatelaines*, a rich assortment; the boxes and *bonbonnières*, to which the Princess Mary of Teck contributes, and the badges, among which richly jewelled "Georges" are conspicuous; as also the rather heterogeneous contents of the immediate cases. But we cannot refrain from marking (669) a bracelet set with enamel portrait of George IV. as a characteristic example of the depth of artistic degradation in jewelry to which we had fallen in 1825. Of Renaissance and recent cameo cutting on rare material may be noted some huge emeralds carved with Medusa's head; the same subject, an admirable work by Pistrucci, on a piece of red jasper of such surprising evenness of colour as to make one suspicious of paste; and (595) a fine work by Girometti on turquoise.

We move on to the Oriental department of the exhibition, where we shall find the direct descendants of that art a collateral branch of which probably inspired the antique works which first engaged our attention. Among the Indian, Egyptian, and other African ornaments we shall find the *motives* and the methods of manipulation still surviving, which were probably the ancestors of Greek and Etruscan jewelry. Let the visitor examine those from Nubia and Upper Egypt; from the West African coast; from Damascus; Upper India, and Ceylon. Her Majesty exhibits fine examples from India, rich in cabuchon emeralds, in pearls, and diamonds (1156-61); and the crown of Theodore from Abyssinia. There are some gorgeous bangles, and some of admirable metal-work. Miss C. M. Powys shows specimens of the fine gold and green enamel work (1189). Mrs. Alfred Morrison is a rich contributor to this and other sections, and

Sir Digby Wyatt's specimens are numerous. Mrs. MacCallum shows Egyptian and Arabian silver work of great variety.

Wearily looking and admiring, we yet must enter the further room, in which the Devonshire gems are exhibited, and where we shall also find the *Dactylotrocha* of this Exhibition. Here is enough indeed to stimulate the flagging energies of the true amateur and archæologist. The Rev. Montague Taylor shows some antiques of great beauty, and Mr. Drury Fortnum contributes others, twenty-two of which are in their original settings as finger rings. Here we notice, as also among the Devonshire gems, palpable refutations of some dogmas advanced by a learned writer in the first edition of his erudite work on *Antique Gems*. Of finger rings we have all those as yet arranged of the Waterton collection, now belonging to the South Kensington Museum. Mr. Soden Smith sends a numerous and highly interesting series, centered by his *cheval de bataille* (894), an Anglo-Saxon found near Covent Garden. Note also (887) a massive Roman found in Sussex, and (901) a charming ring, probably of the fourteenth century; the episcopal, memorial, signet, and English fifteenth-century rings; the puzzle and posy are also noteworthy. Mr. John Evans sends forty-nine rings, many of which were found in England; Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, episcopal, iconographic. Mr. Beck sends, among others, that supposed to have been Fair Rosamond's. Mr. Drury Fortnum contributes from his numerous series a selection commencing with early Christian of the third century of our era and ending with the last century. Among these are several rarities, and the fashion of that ornament is illustrated by examples of Byzantine, Saxon, and Carolingian; a series of six of the fourteenth century found together are singular for their form, some having projecting bunches of pearl an inch in height. There are also Renaissance specimens, some of great elegance; note also (17) an Italian of the fifteenth century, set with a diamond, perhaps one of the first cut in Europe. No. 16 is a Templar's ring. The Duke of Richmond shows some elegant rings of the last century, and Mr. S. W. Singer a fine series with posies. We have reserved to the last two of unusual interest. One belonging to Captain Spratt, found on the same spot and at the same time as that statue, is believed to have adorned the Venus de Milos; the other (864), probably of Celtic, and admirable workmanship, though possibly under Saxon influence, and ornamented with niello, corded wire, and inserted pastes, belongs to Lady Fitzhardinge.

The errors connected with this highly interesting Exhibition are not its own. Greater time given to the classification and arrangement would have rendered its study more easy and more satisfactory. Excellent as is the Catalogue, it is wanting in more definite classification, a fault probably arising from haste in its preparation. We would direct particular attention to the concise, but very able, introductory notice, conveying a large amount of information in a small space.

THE OPERA SEASON.

FEW amateurs will assert that the operatic season of 1872 has been, on the whole, one of great excitement. It would perhaps be too much to expect from the directors of such costly speculations as the Italian Operas that they should abandon the established routine, and escape from the groove in which hitherto, year after year, they have moved with undisturbed complacency. On the other hand they might frankly state their case, and thus at least earn a reputation for having the courage of their opinions. Why, before they open their doors to the public, do they issue prospectuses containing, in the majority of instances, so many pledges which they must be aware will never be redeemed? The consequence is that an atmosphere of fiction envelops the doings at our Italian Operas, which is anything but creditable to their promoters. If managers are persuaded that their subscribers in particular and the public in general will be satisfied with hearing certain popular singers (*prima donnas* especially), there is no imaginable reason why they should hold out further inducements. Let it be understood that Madame Adelina Patti will perform in a series of familiar operas, Madame Pauline Lucca in another series, Madlle. Christine Nilsson in another, and so on; subscribers will then, knowing what they are to expect, have no just cause of complaint. We are at a loss to conceive why the prospectus of an operatic undertaking should not be a document planned and drawn up in as much good faith as the prospectus of any other kind of business enterprise; but that this rarely happens, and that an opera prospectus must invariably be taken *cum grano salis*—in other words, looked upon in a great measure as rather a statement of possibilities than of probabilities—is notorious. The subject, however, is well nigh exhausted, and to discuss it further would be a mere waste of words. We can see, indeed, little chance of reform. Meanwhile, the "high falutin'" about our Italian Opera-houses being "temples of art," &c., should be abolished as preposterous. Let them be regarded as what they are, what they have been for a long period, and what there appears every likelihood of their remaining for a period just as long—simply, places of relaxation and amusement, with which art in its highest and noblest demonstrations has little or nothing to do. If a great work, by some inexplicable chance, is revived, it is pretty sure to meet with such

scant encouragement from habitual subscribers that it is impossible to let the outside public become intimately acquainted with it, except at so serious a temporary loss, that managers, who have seldom themselves the gift of appreciation, cannot from their own commercial point of view see their way to continuing the performances. Of this we had an example in Cherubini's *Medea*—certainly among the grandest and sublimest of lyric dramas; and, only just now we have had another, in the same composer's *Deux Journées*, which, though produced at Her Majesty's Opera with the utmost care, under the direction of Sir Michael Costa, who never gained laurels more honourably, was played once, and then thrown aside. The pure and simple story, the natural though scientific music, counted for little or nothing. True, *Medea* given several times, and repeated in after seasons, was happy in a representative of the heroine like Madlle. Tietjens, who had all the requisites for the part, dramatically and vocally; whereas when the same gifted lady took upon her to assume the character of Constanze in the *Deux Journées*, the illusion had vanished.

Singula de nobis anni præstantur euntes.

Madlle. Tietjens was just as ill fitted for the young wife of Armand as she was well fitted for the matronly and terrific spouse of Jason. Nevertheless, although she could neither look nor act the part, she sang the music of Constanze like the admirable musician she is; and, in short, the execution of Cherubini's opera was almost in every respect irreproachable. Yet it obtained so frigid a reception from subscribers that Mr. Mapleson, wise in his generation, shelved it there and then; and to the public—the paying public of galleries and pit (when pit there is)—not a chance was vouchsafed of judging Cherubini's opera. Yet all the incidents of the operatic season put together sank into insignificance when compared with the production of *Les Deux Journées*. Prima donnas—Pattis, Nilssons, &c., with their graces, *fioriture*, and roudades—counted for nought in an artistic sense by the side of this performance of one of the greatest works of one of the greatest and most earnest of masters. And after all, who and what is Cherubini, that the time for appreciating him should have departed? Has his art grown old? By no means. His art is far younger, fresher, and more vigorous than that of Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi. True, he does not stuff his operas full of exhibition solos, and in fact he provides but rare opportunities for the egotistic display of singers of renown—wherein, by the way, he resembles Herr Wagner, though Cherubini is a Wagner with a sense of musical form and symmetry, which the actual Wagner does not possess, or at any rate systematically repudiates.

At the same time, it is useless denying that *Les Deux Journées*—the work of a man proclaimed by Haydn and Beethoven “greatest of dramatic composers”; about whom, thirty years later, Mendelssohn, looking over the newly published score of *Les Abencerrages*, said, “Here is a matchless old fellow!” and described by Schumann, as “that stern Florentine whom I often feel inclined to compare with Dante”—was received with such comparative indifference by a half-filled house as to dissuade Mr. Mapleson from repeating it. So poor a welcome accorded to this recognized masterpiece probably induced the director of Her Majesty's Opera to withdraw an opera of a very different kind, though hardly less a masterpiece in its way; and thus, of the two novelties announced in the prospectus, one enjoyed the advantage of a single performance, while the other (*Auber's Diamans de la Couronne*) was prudently laid aside. In revenge, Mr. Mapleson regaled his subscribers *ad nauseam* with some of the most hackneyed works of the common repertory—by which we mean the repertory common to himself and Mr. Gye. A reference to our last article on the Italian Operas (June 29) will show what these were; and when we add that, since we wrote, only two or three of the same calibre have been added, we may be spared further details. We shall have a word or two to say further on in addition to what has already been published about Mr. Mapleson's leading singers.

Whereas Mr. Mapleson had promised two novelties, one only of which was forthcoming, and that, as we have said, only on one occasion, Mr. Gye pledged himself to four. These were *Lohengrin*, *Il Guarany*, *Gelmina*, and *Les Diamans de la Couronne*. The operas of Wagner and Auber, first and last in the catalogue, would have been by many degrees the most interesting; but it was precisely these which, at the eleventh hour, were abandoned. Mr. Mapleson's excuse for withdrawing *Les Diamans de la Couronne* was sufficiently comic—to the purport, mainly, that the unprecedented support he had received during the season justified him in depriving his liberal patrons of one of the principal treats he had promised them. Another time, probably, if the public is less liberal, Mr. Mapleson may take a noble revenge, by keeping his promises. In justice to the director of Her Majesty's Opera, however, we must say that—like *Mignon*, *Dinorah*, *Der Freischütz*, *Un Ballo in Maschera*, *Anna Bolena*, *Il Flauto Magico*, and *Otello*, the *Diamans* was announced among the “novelties,” without any preliminary flourish of trumpets; only that, like the other operas enumerated, it was not given. Mr. Gye's announcement of *Lohengrin* was not merely a flourish, but in its way a curiosity—as those who have glanced at our first notice (May 4) of this season's operatic doings may remember. Mr. Gye, emboldened by the success of *Lohengrin* at Bologna and Florence (with Signor Campanini as the hero), came forward, valiantly, as Herr Wagner's champion, declaring that “the presentation of one of Herr Wagner's productions to his subscribers should not be delayed,” and that—having the requisite German singers at hand—he was “de-

termined to produce *Lohengrin* as soon as it was possible to complete the rehearsals.” Nevertheless *Lohengrin* put in no appearance, and, one by one, the Wagnerian singers, having been tried and found wanting in certain operas, not Wagner's, disappeared. Mr. Gye's chief reason for producing *Les Diamans de la Couronne* seems to have been that “no such suitable living artist for the part of Caterina could be found as Madame Adelina Patti.” And yet, while, according to the prospectus, the *Diamans* was “to be given soon after the arrival of Madame Patti” (who remained till the very end of the season), it was not brought out at all, if indeed it was at any time really in preparation. *Lohengrin* might possibly have proved as little of an attraction as *Les Deux Journées*, and Madame Patti may not have taken fondly to the part of Caterina in *Les Diamans*; but why make promises without a fair likelihood of their being carried out? *Gelmina* was a sorry substitute for either *Lohengrin* or *Les Diamans*. Auber's opera, with Adelina Patti as the heroine, might have been reckoned upon as a sure success; and curiosity alone, after the deafening storm of controversy which has been kept up incessantly by its composer and his disciples during the last quarter of a century, would in all probability have brought crowds to *Lohengrin*. Nor was *Il Guarany* much better than *Gelmina*. If Prince Poniatowski's work was flavoured with the ideas of other composers, that of M. Carlos Gomez, “the young Brazilian,” was saturated with them. Beyond a certain dashing effrontery, M. Gomez has yet everything to learn. He ought to burn wax tapers in commemoration of Meyerbeer and Verdi. The performance of *Il Guarany*—in which the chief characters were supported by Madlle. Sessi, Signors Nicolini, Cotogni, and Bagagiolo, M. Faure, &c., with Signor Bevilacqua as conductor—was really good; and the *mise-en-scène*, although made up for the greater part of well-known materials (the *Africaine*, &c.), was very striking; but this and much more could not give interest to so silly a libretto, or life to musical shreds and patches gathered here, there, and everywhere. On the whole we should greatly have preferred *Lohengrin* to *Gelmina*, and the *Diamans de la Couronne* to *Il Guarany*; so, we think, would the public. As far as *Lohengrin* is concerned, the many Wagnerists, German and English, in this country pined for it; the non-Wagnerists also pined for it—for a different reason; while curious amateurs, indifferent to either side, pined for it no less, so great has been the commotion about Wagner, his works, his controversial books, and criticisms, &c., not to speak of his *Niebelungen* Trilogy, for the perfect representation of which a town must be enlarged, a vast theatre built, and a palatial residence erected expressly for the author. It was therefore mistaken policy on the part of Mr. Gye, having announced *Lohengrin*, not to bring it out; and a no less mistaken policy to announce it without the certainty of its being ready to hand when called for.

In our first notice of the Italian Operas a fair estimate was given of the resources, vocal, instrumental, &c., at either house; and in our second (June 29) we endeavoured to show what the principal singers had done up to that period. Little remains to be added; but, in order to make our record complete, we subjoin a list of the operas played, in the order of their production. At Mr. Gye's establishment we have had—*Faust e Margherita*, *La Sonnambula*, *Fra Diavolo*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, the *Huguenots*, *La Favorita*, *Il Flauto Magico*, *La Figlia del Reggimento*, *La Traviata*, *Hamlet*, *Martha*, *Fidelio*, *Dinorah*, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, *Don Giovanni*, *L'Africaine*, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Rigoletto*, *Il Trovatore*, *Der Freischütz*, *Gelmina*, *L'Elisir d'Amore*, *L'Étoile du Nord*, *Linda di Chamouni*, *Norma*, and *Il Guarany*. At Mr. Mapleson's we have had—*Fidelio*, *La Sonnambula*, *La Figlia del Reggimento*, *Semiramide*, the *Huguenots*, *Don Pasquale*, *Faust*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *La Traviata*, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, *Il Trovatore*, *Les Deux Journées* (*I due Giornati*), *Rigoletto*, *Martha*, and *Le Nozze di Figaro*. Thus at the Royal Italian Opera twenty-six operas have been given; at Her Majesty's Opera only sixteen. Mr. Gye kept his theatre open from seventeen to eighteen weeks; Mr. Mapleson kept his theatre open during sixteen. Mr. Gye had again two conductors—Signors Vianesi and Bevilacqua; Mr. Mapleson had only one conductor, Sir Michael Costa—worth (not to pay him a very high compliment) the two put together. It cannot, however, be denied that Mr. Gye offered more variety to his subscribers than Mr. Mapleson to his; and it is to be questioned whether the superiority of Mr. Mapleson's orchestra would have much weight with a quasi-ignorant public, who go in crowds to such a piece of threadbare trumpery as *Martha*, because Madlle. Nilsson sings “The Last Rose of Summer,” and turn their backs upon *Les Deux Journées*, a piece in which Benvenuto Cellini, had he been enough of a musician, would have revelled—for a subtler piece of artistic musical chiselling does not exist.

The list of operas cited above will suffice to show that the great singers upon whose performances we dwell at large in our last notice have had little more to do that is worth recording. Madame Adelina Patti, as usual one of the chief attractions of Mr. Gye's season, has again attempted to show that no character—it matters not for what calibre of voice intended—is beyond her means; and thus, for the second time she has merely proved that she can no more rival Madame Pauline Lucca as Valentine in the *Huguenots*, than Madame Lucca can hope to rival Madame Patti as Rosina in the *Barbiere di Siviglia*.

Quam scit uterque — exerceat artem.

In certain—nay, in very many—characters Madame Patti is wholly unapproachable; why should she not then be satisfied to

shine alone in her sphere? There are parts beyond her physical means. Valentine, in the *Huguenots*, is one of them, and Leonora, in the *Traviata*, another. In both operas her performance is poetical and intellectual; but if she does not wish to impair the unequalled beauty of her voice, she should, as much as possible, eschew Verdi and Meyerbeer. Even in *Dinorah*, though with the single exception of Madlle. Ilma di Murska, Madame Patti is beyond all compare the best representative of the half-demented maiden we have seen, her exertions are evident; and the same observation applies to her Caterina, in *L'Etoile du Nord*—piquant, characteristic, and finished a performance as it undoubtedly is from beginning to end. Madame Patti is one of the most consummate lyric artists since Malibran, and to strain so precious a voice as hers is neither more nor less than high treason against music. Among Mr. Gye's new singers this year the one who has made a genuine impression is Madlle. Emma Albani. We thought favourably of her from the beginning, and are glad to find our early belief confirmed. The young French Canadian lady has succeeded beyond question, and is already a favourite with the English public. To say more about Mr. Gye's company—a strong one, it must be owned, in every department—would involve needless repetition.

Of Mr. Mapleson's chief singers we have also already spoken at length. It remains to add that Madlle. Christine Nilsson—engaged, it is stated, at an enormous salary, no less than 200*l.* a night, exactly 40*l.* more than is received by Madame Patti (how can operatic managers exist with such salaries to pay?)—although she appeared sixteen times, only sang in five parts during the entire season. In these five parts—Violetta (*La Traviata*), Margaret (*Faust*), Lucia di Lammermoor, Martha, and Cherubino (*Le Nozze*), Madlle. Nilsson has been seen and heard over and over again. Her two years in America have by no means improved her voice, and by no means added refinement to her style; on the contrary, they have manifestly deteriorated both. This is to be regretted, because Madlle. Nilsson, when she first appeared among us, was one of the most charming artists on the lyric boards, fascinating as much by her unaffectedly graceful manner as by the exquisite beauty of her voice and the purity of her method. We are at a loss to understand the metamorphosis; but it has been a subject of general comment, and it would be useless to seem blind (or deaf) to it. Pity that Madlle. Nilsson was limited to some half-dozen well-worn characters, without the opportunity of once again appearing as Desdemona, Ophelia, and Mignon, through which her reputation was so greatly enhanced during her last visit to London!

Mr. Mapleson's new tenor, Signor Campanini, has at the very best but half maintained his position. He is no Giuglini—that is certain; far less is he a Mario. At the same time, he has qualities which, if discreetly managed, ought still to help him to attain a high rank in his profession. But he is apparently negligent—sometimes singing admirably, at other times indifferently, at others even badly. Signor Campanini cannot afford to rest upon the laurels so brilliantly earned on the night of his first appearance as Gennaro, in *Lucrezia Borgia*—with Mdle. Tietjens and Signor Rota (the new barytone, who has also somewhat disappointed expectation). The unanimous praises awarded on that occasion should have spurred him on to increased exertion.

About Mr. Mapleson's other leading vocalists, we can only say that Madlle. Marimon sings more than ever like a bird, and acts more than ever like an automaton; that the American *prima donna*, Madlle. Clari Louise Kellogg, has had, and, what is more, merited, a genuine success, upon which she virtually put the seal by her excellent portrayal of Susanna, in Mozart's incomparable *Nozze di Figaro*—the other chief parts being sustained by Madlle. Tietjens (the Countess), Madlle. Nilsson (Cherubino), Signor Rota (the Count), Signor Agnesi (Figaro), and Signor Borella (Bartolo). About this representation we may fairly add that, thanks to the care and ability of Sir Michael Costa, a finer *ensemble* has rarely been attained under any circumstances. The performance of *Le Nozze* and that of *Les Deux Journées* would alone have made the season of 1872 at Her Majesty's Opera, memorable.

We might write more about both operas; but we have written enough, and must conclude with the expression of a hope that next year we may hear *Lohengrin* (to settle philosophic doubts), at one theatre, and *Les Deux Journées* (for the sake of "abstract music"), at the other.

THE THEATRES.

THE play which Mr. Tom Taylor has supplied to the Queen's Theatre might, like some other recent pieces of the same author, have been improved by taking a little more trouble. The principal object doubtless was to provide parts for Mr. and Mrs. Bandmann, and if they are intending to carry this play with them upon a tour, it is perhaps convenient that they should require as little as possible of the assistance of other artists. There is really nothing that is not either trivial or disagreeably except the two leading parts, and the comic business would be hardly tolerable in one of those farces which precede or follow the principal entertainment of the evening, and which nobody need see who is not so disposed. The conception of the play is fine, and if neither Mr. Bandmann nor his associates are equal to the grandeur of the prologue, we must allow that the task imposed on them is very difficult. The time of action of this pro-

logue is the year 1805, and the place is the head-quarters of the French Imperial Guard on the night before the battle of Austerlitz. By a venial departure from historic truth these head-quarters are placed at Brunn, and the shouts of the French army as Napoleon rides along its line are supposed to be heard within a castellated structure which affords to the scene-painter more scope than he would have found in the field-bivouac of reality. Happily the dramatist has had the discretion to abstain from bringing upon the boards Napoleon and his Marshals. Even Murat is only talked about without being seen, and besides the Colonel of Cuirassiers, whom Mr. Bandmann undertakes, the only military celebrity who actually appears is a sergeant of the same regiment, who swears awfully at the notion of being despatched on the eve of battle to Berlin. The Colonel, it should be observed, has brought his wife with him to Brunn, and she has contrived to get him ordered on diplomatic business as a means of preserving him from the danger of the impending battle. The sergeant is ordered to ride on this peaceful errand with his master, and they express emphatically, each after his own fashion, vehement displeasure at this arrangement. A professional diplomatist arriving at this moment offers to undertake the business at Berlin, so as to leave the Colonel free to lead his regiment into action, and the sergeant free to follow him. The Colonel goes off to seek an interview with the Emperor, and returns triumphantly with his sanction to the proposed arrangement. The Colonel's wife, whose scheme for her husband's safety is thus frustrated, is obliged to share, or seem to share, his anxiety for glory. They take of course a pathetic farewell, at which their little daughter assists, and it is not the author's fault that Homer has represented a similar scene before him. The modern Hector is not a particularly military personage, and his size and bulk suggest that he will need a weight-carrying charger if he really means to lead his regiment next day. His soldiership, like his English, is manifestly acquired for the occasion, and lacks the spontaneous ease which early and long familiarity alone can give. The idea of this prologue is, however, good. The genius of Napoleon was at that moment preparing one of his greatest triumphs which he announced beforehand to his army. At nine o'clock in the evening he passed along the whole length of his line, for the double purpose of judging the direction of the enemy's forces and of animating his troops. He had first issued to them a proclamation, not only promising them victory, but even explaining to them the manoeuvre by which he was to obtain it. The news of his presence before the front of the *corps d'armée*, passing from one to the other like electricity, reached the extremity of the line. By a spontaneous movement the troops, raising bundles of blazing straw on poles, produced a novel and imposing illumination, while their shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" carried proof to the enemy's camp of the enthusiasm which his presence had inspired. It took him until midnight to pass along the line, and then silence reigned during the short hours of repose. At four o'clock Napoleon was again on horseback. The moon had gone down, and the night was cold and dark, though the weather was fair. The reports which reached him indicated that the allies were continuing the movement which would give him the expected opportunity. At break of day a light fog obscured the horizon. Suddenly this fog disappears. The "sun of Austerlitz" begins to gild with his rays the heights of Pratzen, lately covered with Russo-Austrian troops, and now abandoned to Napoleon's meditated advance. As he rides towards Soult's corps, which is to make the decisive attack, he tells the soldiers that the enemy has imprudently exposed himself, and bids them close the campaign by a clap of thunder. Napoleon had a fine instinct for stage effect as well as tactics. The battle of Austerlitz was very like a play, and therefore a play may with some propriety be founded on the battle. The calm confidence of the Emperor, the enthusiasm of the army, the shouts and the illumination are a subject on which a dramatist of ancient Greece or modern France would have composed some hundreds of resounding lines. But Mr. Tom Taylor knows his business as an English playwright, and does not expend poetic ornament where it would only too probably be thrown away. He could doubtless have written good blank verse upon this as he has done upon other inspiring themes, but he would have to find first a person to speak it, and secondly other persons to listen to it. We hear shouts and trumpet-calls, and see rather a feeble imitation of "boot and saddle" among the Colonel's troopers, upon which the curtain falls. We know from history that the Russian Cuirassiers of the Guard overthrew a battalion of French infantry and carried off its eagle. Napoleon directed to this point Bessières with the cavalry of his Guard, and ordered him to charge. The Russian cavalry, after a most honourable defence, yielded, and the play, when it begins, informs us that Colonel de Maurienne received a sabre-cut on the head while leading his regiment in this charge, and was left upon the field dead.

The play suits Mr. Bandmann better than the prologue. The Colonel regained consciousness when actually lying in the trench for burial, among those who were dead beyond recovery. His wound healed, and he begged his way from Brunn to Strasburg, and entered by that Gate of Austerlitz where still, in mournful contrast between the generalship of the first and the third Napoleon, a handpost points the road "à Vienne." Arrived in France, the dead-alive asserts that he is Count de Maurienne, Colonel of the Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, who was returned as killed at Austerlitz. He is treated as the victim of an insane delusion, and makes the round of the madhouses of France. Between wandering and confinement eighteen years have passed, and when he makes his way to Paris

his wife has married again and since died, and his daughter is grown to womanhood, and is entertaining the first germs of passion for a young doctor, under whose care her unknown father has been at Charenton. The villain of the play is the diplomatist, now a Duke, who undertook the mission to Berlin, and thus provided De Maurienne with the opportunity of which he availed himself to get knocked upon the head. The Duke married the widow, is guardian to the daughter, and testifies a disposition to stick to the family estates. The claim advanced by De Maurienne is treated as evidence of a fresh access of insanity, and his daughter is prevailed upon to assist the young doctor in luring her father back to Charenton, under the pretence that he is being acknowledged and restored to his own home in Paris. There is much pathos in the situation when the father finds that his daughter joins in the general belief that he is a madman, but his soliloquy is marred by the grotesque apparition of a keeper with a strait-waistcoat. Afterwards the Count, despairing of escape from Charenton, obtains poison and is about to drink it, when his daughter and the doctor appear to ask his pardon and his blessing. Documents attesting the recovery of the dead-alive in the Hospital of Brunn are discovered in an old knapsack by the agency of the comic characters of the play, and the wicked Duke's machinations are defeated. There is much to praise in the acting of Mr. and Mrs. Bandmann, as father and daughter, in these scenes in the Asylum. We wish that the author could have made a better play upon so good a subject, but if a conveniently portable article was required for a tour round the world, he has supplied the want.

Many of the theatres have now closed for a short recess, and when they reopen, which may be early in September, the winter season will, in theoretical parlance, have begun. As Mr. Boucicault has said, there are always enough people in London to fill a theatre if they can only be drawn into it. There are many features of the past season which may be reviewed with satisfaction. The success of *Pygmalion and Galatea* at the Haymarket, which was chiefly due to the acting of Miss Robertson, shows that the public is ready to recognize and reward merit, even when it takes an unusual method to display itself. A drama founded on a classical subject would appear unsuitable alike to the taste of the audience and the capacity of the company at this theatre, but nevertheless this drama was performed for many months to full houses with unbounded applause. Another great and legitimate success was attained by the revival at the Vaudeville Theatre of *London Assurance*. All the parts in this amusing comedy were well played, and some of them very well indeed. Whatever Mr. Boucicault may have written or acted recently, it ought never to be forgotten that he supplied the stage with a play that is always certain to be successful if a company can be found to act it. This play has only recently been withdrawn, and the same company, with some additions, has produced *The School for Scandal*, which bids fair to amalgamate the summer and winter seasons into one. Those unfortunate persons who are doomed to spend the month of August in London may obtain some mitigation of their misery by going to see Mr. W. Farren in the part which his father used to play so admirably. The success of the scene in the study was most largely due to Mr. W. Farren, but Miss Fawcett, Mr. Clayton, and Mr. H. Neville also deserved and earned an ample measure of applause. Indeed the applause was manifestly restrained in order that not a word or gesture of this excellent performance might be lost by the attentive audience. There is scarcely one of the parts in this play that is not well acted; the defects are small, the merits are great and varied, and the general result is a complete and well-deserved success. The managers, who contribute their full share to the effect of the scandal-mongering scenes, are probably satisfied, by nightly evidence of their success, that the promised production of *Money* may be indefinitely postponed. We spoke some weeks ago of the performance of Lord Lytton's play at the Prince of Wales's Theatre; and we can only repeat the expression of our satisfaction at the success of that establishment, which has been due to the production of good plays, well acted. Another house which has done a high class of business with fair encouragement is the Court Theatre. The manager has not, we think, been always happy in the choice of plays, but the revival of a comedy by Mr. Falconer called *Extremes* has fitted the company accurately, and has afforded great and manifest satisfaction to the audience. That meritorious actor, Mr. Vezin, was seen to better advantage than he had lately been, and Mrs. Stephens and Mr. Righton, as the widow and son of a Lancashire farmer who have come into an enormous fortune, were very amusing. It is not perhaps a high compliment to say that this comedy was much more laughable than the burlesque which followed it. The fun, such as it was, of seeing Mr. Righton enact a parody of Mr. Irving in the *Bells* must have been pretty well worn out. If nobody else needs a holiday, the burlesque writers certainly do, and on their account it was quite time that the Court Theatre and some others should close their doors.

REVIEWS.

MEMOIRS OF BARON VON STOCKMAR.*

"THE life which you have led has been a subterranean, an anonymous one; before long no man will know what you

* *Denkwürdigkeiten aus den Papieren des Freiherrn C. F. v. Stockmar.* Zusammengestellt von Ernst Fr. v. Stockmar. Brunswick: 1872.

really were." There may at first sight seem something paradoxical in the fact of such a remark having been addressed to the late Baron Stockmar, and apparently acquiesced in by himself. Much misinterpreted as well as much honoured during his lifetime, the prediction may seem hazardous that he is likely to be forgotten soon after his death. At all events, however, it is doubtful whether even the monument raised by filial piety in the shape of a biographical sketch and a compilation of extracts from Stockmar's papers and from other sources concerning the chief political settlements and questions with which he was connected, will enable posterity at large to do full justice to the services of this remarkable man. The truth seems to be, that with those who have consciously and deliberately chosen for themselves such a career as his, virtue must emphatically be its own reward. A title and a pension repay the services of an every-day courtier as of an every-day statesman. The honour is more rare of a tomb on which "friends in the reigning Houses of Belgium, Coburg, England, and Prussia" have inscribed the record of their grateful remembrance; but an epitaph is at best only a perfunctory substitute for fame. The late Baron Stockmar, when, in leading the life of a courtier—of the "good courtier" whose portrait was drawn in the Elizabethan age by Spenser—he steadfastly sought to pursue the aims of a statesman, consented to all the self-abnegation of the one career without aspiring to the most dazzling rewards of the other; and the one recompense which he has obtained is that of having, in the words of the German poet, "satisfied the best of his own," and thus "lived for all time." One of the least effusive of modern sovereigns, the late King of the Belgians, recognized in him "a friend rather than a servant"; and one of the most clear-sighted of modern statesmen, the late Lord Palmerston, declared that among politicians he had never met but one absolutely unselfish man, and that this was Stockmar. This is much; but it is well that it should also be remembered how the "good courtier" was also a true patriot; how he was prepared, if such had been his destiny, to assume a most responsible place in the direction of the affairs of the nation whose cause was ever nearest to his heart; how he was something more than the friend and adviser of princes, something better than a useful go-between, something utterly different from a successful intriguer. It is therefore most fitting that, before his memory has become a mere family reminiscence of the House of Coburg, his real services, which were by no means confined to that House, should have been permanently placed on record. The method in which this has been attempted by his son, Baron Ernest von Stockmar, is upon the whole, apart from some occasional indiscretion, fairly successful. His biographical sketch of his father's career is at once clearly and modestly written; but in the special chapters dealing with the principal political questions in which the late Baron bore an important part there is too much discursiveness, and, above all, too much quotation from well-known books. The *par parenthèse* way of treating difficult political problems makes these Memoirs hard to digest, and places anything like a satisfactory summary of their contents out of the question.

Christian Frederick Stockmar began life as a physician—a profession which has naturally enough produced many courtiers, but few statesmen. Stockmar, who was destined to present so peculiar a combination of both characters, was wont to attribute much of his success as the confidential adviser of great persons to his medical training. "It was a clever trick," he writes in 1853, "to have originally studied medicine; without the knowledge thus obtained, without the psychological and pathological insight thus acquired, my *savoir faire* would have often been left out in the cold." But as yet he had no visions of this particular application of his capabilities; his heart was full of bitterness against the Napoleonic oppression under which Germany was groaning; and as chief physician to the Coburg and other Ducal Saxon contingents, he bore his part in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815. It was thus that he gained the confidence of Prince Leopold of Coburg, who, on his marriage to Princess Charlotte, summoned Stockmar to England as his body-physician. His journals contain many notes of the Royal personages and their surroundings with whom he was thus first brought into contact. In these the doctor's power of observation, particularly of physical peculiarities and habits, has the upper hand; and, upon the whole, the gallery of Royal portraits is anything but complimentary in character, so that we loyally confine ourselves to an extract concerning the impression created by an illustrious foreign visitor, the future Czar Nicholas, in 1816:—

He is an extraordinarily handsome and seductive young fellow; taller than Leopold, without being thin, straight as a pine-tree. The face as youthful as his, exceedingly regular in features, a fine open forehead, handsome curved eyebrows, an extremely handsome nose, a handsome, small mouth, and a finely-chiselled chin. . . . His behaviour is vivacious, without any constraint or stiffness, and yet extremely gentlemanlike. He speaks French very much and well, accompanying his words with not inappropriate gestures. Although not everything said by him was thoroughly sensible, yet everything was at all events exceedingly pleasant, and he seems to have a decided talent for paying court to ladies. If he wishes to give any special emphasis to anything in conversation, he shrugs up his shoulders and raises his eyes rather affectingly heavenwards. In all things he displays great self-confidence, but apparently without pretension.

He was not particularly attentive to the Princess, who addressed him oftener than he her. He ate very moderately for his age, and drank nothing but water. When after dinner Countess Lieven played on the piano, he kissed her hand, which struck the English ladies as extremely odd, but decidedly desirable. Mrs. Campbell could find no end to praise of him. "What an amiable creature! he is devilish handsome! he will be the handsomest man in Europe." On the following morning the Russians left

the house. I was told that when bedtime arrived, a leathern sack filled with hay was placed in the stable for the Grand-Duke by his people, it being his invariable custom to sleep in this fashion. Our Englishmen declared this to be an affectation.

The unhappy death of the Princess Charlotte put a sudden end to the happy life at Claremont, and for Stockmar personally this event may be said to have proved the beginning of his real career. He had prudently declined to exceed the sphere of his duties by attending the Princess in her confinement. "I was too well aware of the rocks ahead, and knew too well that the pride of the nation and its contempt of foreigners would, in case all went well, allow me no share of the praise, and in case it went ill leave me all the blame." Thus he was spared the bitter sense of responsibility which drove poor Sir Richard Croft to a desperate end; but it was at the deathbed of the Princess that Prince Leopold made his faithful follower promise never to abandon him, and that the relation between them began which formed the basis of the influence gradually acquired by Stockmar in the affairs of the House of Coburg. "I had no hesitation," he writes to his sister, "in promising what he may perchance consider permanently desirable, and perchance choose to do without already next year." But, whatever might be the result, he cheerfully accepted the issue. "I feel more and more that my lot is made up of unexpected turns, and many more of these will come before all is over. I seem to exist rather in order to take thought for others than for myself, and I am well contented with this mission." Yet it was no foolish trust in princes, but only a gradually maturing confidence in the character of the particular prince, which upheld Stockmar in his resolution. "The favour of princes is in general not worth a feather; but he (Prince Leopold) is in every respect an honest, good man, and therefore an incomparable prince."

The wisdom of Prince Leopold and of his adviser (whose post of body-physician had been exchanged for that of Private Secretary, Treasurer, and Comptroller of the Household, and who was soon afterwards ennobled) was for the first time severely tested on the occasion of the question of the Greek throne. In these transactions justice has hardly been done to the conduct of Prince Leopold; but though we may allow that it cannot be freed from the charge of inconsistency, it is clear that had Stockmar's advice been followed, the Prince would have avoided the false step which brought him so much obloquy, particularly from Russian sources. The Prince committed, against Stockmar's advice, the double error of dealing directly with the Greek emissaries, instead of sheltering himself behind the cover of an intermediary agent, and of signifying his readiness to accept the crown before securing the conditions—in particular the larger extent of territory—upon which he afterwards found it necessary to insist. The result has shown that Leopold acted wisely in refusing at the last; and that the policy was shortsighted which mutilated Greece at the moment of its new birth. But the notes of Baron Stockmar sufficiently disprove the common allegation that it was the prospect of the Regency in Great Britain which finally determined Prince Leopold's refusal of the Greek crown; and indeed the argument is incontrovertible, that the prospect in question was no prospect at all, for—

If George IV. died, the succession fell to the Duke of Clarence, then sixty-five years of age, who might very well live ten years more, and actually did live seven. Seven years were wanting to the Princess Victoria—then eleven years of age—towards her majority; the probability therefore was that she would attain to it (as it indeed actually happened) while the Duke of Clarence (William IV.) still lived, or that in the other case the regency could only last for a short time. And for this regency there were nearer candidates than Leopold—namely, the mother of the future Queen, the Duchess of Kent, and two English princes, uncles of the Princess, the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge.

In any case the Greek crown was refused by Leopold, not without regrets; and these regrets, it is curious to know, survived even to the period when his tenure of the Belgian throne had become secure, and the chief trials of his position had been successfully overcome. He was even then at times heard to confess that Greece would have better satisfied his imagination than the somewhat sober charms of the Belgian monarchy. It was to such a confession, of which few may have suspected King Leopold to be capable, that Stockmar once answered very characteristically as follows:—

As to the poetry which Greece would have afforded, I do not attach much value to it. Mortals see none but the bad sides in the things which they have, and none but the good in the things which they have not. Herein lies the whole difference between Greece and Belgium, although it is not to be denied that when the first Greek King shall have perished after multitudinous troubles, his life might furnish the poet with a fine subject for an epical poem.

The mistakes committed in the Greek business were not repeated in the Belgian, and on one occasion at least in the course of these transactions the advice of Stockmar seems to have been of decisive importance. Leopold appears to have hesitated about accepting the Belgian Constitution, and this at the very critical moment when there was still a doubt as to the acceptance by the London Conference of the Eighteen Articles which alone made it possible for the Prince to venture on assuming the hazardous task:—

After a careful examination of the Belgian Constitution, my master doubted whether by means of such laws a State could be governed, and liberty and order, the two inseparable conditions of a progressive human community, could be preserved. "Dear Stockmar," said Leopold, "I wish you would read through the Constitution and tell me your opinion." I read

through the new Belgian fundamental law with great attention, compared the several articles with one another, and in point of fact found that the power of the Government is mightily restricted. But my firm confidence in the people helped me through. "True," it was in some such terms that I addressed my intelligent master, "perfectly true, the authority of the King and of his Ministers is very greatly limited by this Constitution. Make the experiment whether all these liberties are reconcilable with order, make the experiment of governing according to the spirit of this Constitution, and that with the utmost conscientiousness. If you then find that with such a fundamental law a good Government is impossible, send after a time a message to the Chambers, in which you openly declare your experiences, and demonstrate the defects of the Constitution. If you have in real truth acted to the best of your knowledge and conscience, the people will most assuredly stand by you, and gladly carry out all the changes of which the necessity can be proved."

King Leopold followed my advice. It is known that no evils of importance have shown themselves; it is known that in many respects Belgium stands as a model among European States.

King and people might look back with satisfaction upon the result of the Royal confidence thus generously urged. And it can hardly be doubted that no act of King Leopold more clearly attested his comprehension of the national duty of a king than that by which he cut the golden tie which bound him externally to another State. It is perhaps hardly worth while to revive the discussions by which certain over jealous economists for a time deprived King Leopold's sacrifice of his English annuity of the recognition which it merited. It is known that this sacrifice neither was nor could be absolute; but the fears of Sir Samuel Whalley and others have proved imaginary; and time has demonstrated the absence of necessity for the inquiry which in 1834 Lord Palmerston derided in the following letter, which is too good to be left unquoted:—

MY DEAR BARON,—I have many apologies to make to you for not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of the Papers you sent me last week, and for which I am much obliged to you. The case seems to me as clear as day, and, without meaning to question the omnipotence of Parliament, which, it is well known, can do anything but turn Men into Women, or Women into Men, I must and shall assert that the House of Commons have no more right to inquire into the Details of those debts and engagements, which the King of the Belgians considers himself bound to satisfy before he begins to make his Payments into the Exchequer, than they have to ask Sir Samuel Whalley how he disposed of the fees which his mad Patients used to pay him, before he began to practise upon the foolish Constituents who have sent him to Parliament. There can be no doubt whatever that we must positively resist any such inquiry; and I am very much mistaken in my estimate of the present House of Commons if a large Majority do not concur in scouting so untenable a Proposition.

My dear Baron, yours sincerely,
PALMERSTON.

In 1834 Baron Stockmar went to Coburg to spend a longer period of repose than usual with his wife and children. His son compensates the reader for the want of any personal reminiscences during the interval from 1834 to 1836 by a Memoir drawn up by King William IV. concerning his policy in the four preceding years. This document, never published before, will be of considerable interest to English readers, and by no means only to that gradually diminishing number who are never tired of hearing new correct versions of what the King said to Lord Grey on this occasion, and what Lord Grey said to the King on that. Moreover, it proves that King William IV., if more ready to listen to advice than his predecessors, was at heart equally convinced of his own directing intelligence, and was as true a son of his father as any of his brothers. With the accession of Queen Victoria, Stockmar's influence in English affairs recommenced, and he was above all an active participator in the negotiations which led to the happiest of Royal marriages, to which both Queen and country have owed so much. The chapters in the present work dealing with those transactions form an interesting supplement to the reminiscences which Her Majesty has herself given to the world. Stockmar accompanied Prince Albert on his journey to Italy in 1839, and was among the first to be informed of the engagement between the Prince and the Queen, which followed in the autumn of the same year. It was he to whom, as agent of the Prince, was confided the actual settlement of the marriage-treaty with the British Ministry, and it devolved on him to manage as best he could the awkward questions which arose as to the annuity and the Regency. The principle which he sought to assert, in the former case without success, was that Ministers should arrive at an understanding with the chiefs of the Opposition, and not abandon to Parliamentary discussion questions personally affecting the Royal Family. But his efforts were not, as he had thought, at an end with the completion of these arrangements. The birth of the Princess Royal opened a new sphere of activity to the trusted family adviser; "the nursery," he humorously complains, "gives me as much trouble as the Government of a kingdom could cause." Nor were his cares all of so pleasant a description; and those who are interested in such matters will find that as a reformer of the management of the Royal household the Baron found abundant opportunity for the exercise of his gift of common sense. His attention was once more turned to the interests of his original patron by the question of the Spanish marriages; but it is known how shortlived was the scheme of bringing about a union between Queen Isabella and King Leopold, in which he took so active a part. Nothing new is added to the story of a transaction upon which nobody but M. Guizot probably remains to look back with unqualified satisfaction; but though Baron Stockmar was in this instance not a dispassionate prophet, he was a true one when he foretold that this successful intrigue would prove the ruin of Louis-Philippe's reputation, and

thus deprive his throne of its best element of stability. "From the innermost depths of truth a voice sounded to him—Cela va trop loin, cela va fausser toute la politique de mon règne. He had guessed rightly; he lost the *assiette* which he had so long maintained, and will never regain it." Three months afterwards he was a fugitive in England.

What remains of these Memoirs relates principally to the affairs of Stockmar's own country. In these he had never ceased to take the deepest interest; but it was not his lot to exercise a really determining influence over them. In the crisis of 1848 he advised King Frederick William IV. with the same prudent boldness which he had exhibited towards Prince Leopold, but the sovereign with whom he had in this instance to deal was better capable of appreciating men than of resolving upon measures. Stockmar's plan for the regeneration of Germany, to which he in vain endeavoured to gain the assent of Bunsen, belongs to the forgotten schemes of the past; its essentials consisted in the gradual conversion of Germany without Austria into a united country under Prussian hegemony, by an act of self-denial which no Prussian statesman was ready to advocate. In a word, the Prussian States were to become the nucleus of a new Empire by a renunciation of all specific Prussianism in their constitutional life; they were to become *immediate* to the Empire, which the other States were to join with a temporary retention of their separate constitutional organizations. At one time Stockmar had nearly been summoned to fill the post of Prime Minister of the Empire as established by the Frankfort Parliament; he was ready to accept the office if Bunsen consented to accept the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. But the scheme came to nothing; and with the failure of the Frankfort Parliament Stockmar's active participation in German affairs came to an end. To the English Court he ceased to pay any personal visits after the year 1857, his last work having been to aid in the negotiations for the happy marriage of the Princess Royal. Already, in 1855, he had written:—

What I could afford by way of exhortation, advice, and aid has been furnished during eighteen long years; what hereof has not brought fruit, will hardly now begin to be of use. Nature accommodates itself to education up to a certain point; what lies beyond remains as nature has made it. Moreover, the Queen as well as the Prince are thirty-six years of age. They have already learnt much, and have throughout proved themselves intelligent and honest at heart. They have passed beyond the necessity of being actually guided—nothing beyond the mere counsel of friendship would be permissible. But, in order that such counsel should take effect, it must be given after a lively and vigorous fashion; this is no longer possible to me, and instead of creating the right impression, my advice would frequently only seem that of weakness, of excessive caution, and of nervous timidity.

In his retirement at Coburg it was his fate to survive nearly all those whom he had best served, and by whom he had been most truly honoured. King Frederick William IV., Prince Albert, King Leopold, all preceded him to the grave. In the first he could only regret one from whose hand he had long ceased to hope for the realization of his highest schemes. The death of the Prince Consort brought with it the satisfaction of seeing for the first time fully recognized merits of which he had contributed to develop the germ, and which he had helped to defend against perverse misjudgment during the discreditable squabble of 1853-4. The loss of King Leopold was bitterest of all, and brought the faithful old follower near to the verge of despair. A few months later he passed away himself, nearly seventy-seven years of age.

The element of greatness in Baron Stockmar, or, if the expression be preferred, that which enabled him to co-operate beneficently in the real progress of his age, lay, in his conviction of the power belonging to the moral forces in humanity. These he was diligent to encourage in individuals; and fortune brought him into active contact with a princely family called to play a considerable part in European history, and naturally qualified to play it. But he also believed in the eternity of these forces in the life of nations. He honoured England, and such Englishmen as Sir Robert Peel, without any blind belief in the infallibility of our constitutional system or in the absolute excellence of any particular party programme. But he had no patience with reformers who wish to overthrow the balance which has ensured stability to the government of our country; "the omnipotence of the House of Commons," which he believed to be the object of the rising school of English politicians, he declared to be "revolution itself and death to the true old English Constitution." So far as in him lay, he helped to strengthen the authority of the Crown—from no servile motive, but because he knew that there must be authority in human society, and that authority is most readily obeyed when based on tradition combined with personal respect. He had not much reverence for diplomacy, except where it continuously pursues clearly defined ends in consonance with the real necessities of nations. He was decried as a backstairs intriguer; but there was in reality nothing secret about his dealings, as there was nothing which required to be hidden about his motives. It was not his lot to be practically much more than a well-wisher to the cause of his own nation; but it will be well for a State monarchically constituted like the new German Empire if its princes find servants as candid, advisers as disinterested, and friends as single-minded as the late Baron von Stockmar.

THE CHURCH OF UTRECHT.*

(First Notice.)

THE opportune appearance of this little work from the pen of a German Protestant divine naturally invites us to say something of the history of a Church which, from its unique character and position, must always possess an interest for the ecclesiastical student, but which just now is attracting the notice of a much wider circle of readers. The recent Confirmation tour of the venerable Archbishop of Utrecht among the Old Catholics of Germany has given rise to various comments, favourable or unfavourable, in English journals, but almost invariably betraying a profound ignorance of the antecedents and claims of the body he represents. One paper, which manages to combine Ultramontane sympathies with advanced Protestantism, went so far as to ask, with a lofty disregard of the history both of doctrine and of fact, how Dr. Dollinger could recognize the orders of a Church tainted with Jansenist heresy. And even those who have some inkling of the actual state of affairs generally know little more than that a religious body exists in Holland, Roman Catholic in doctrine and ritual, but out of communion with Rome, which, however, does not dream of disputing the validity of its episcopal succession; that the announcement always formally made at Rome of each fresh election of an Archbishop of Utrecht is met by a fresh excommunication; and, perhaps, that the Archbishop and his suffragans presented a formal protest against the definition of the Immaculate Conception. Recent circumstances, however, have forced into public notice the only communion which is in a position to supply regular episcopal ministrations to the Old Catholics, and where indeed, as a Dutch historian, Janssenius, has pointed out, the very name of "Old Catholic" has been in use for a century and a half in the sense now given to it by the opponents of the Vatican Synod. At the Catholic Congress of Munich last September, where three Utrecht priests were present, Dr. Dollinger delivered an address on the history of this Church, in order to show that the charge of Jansenism was a mere *ex post facto* Jesuit libel, while the real origin of the quarrel with the Court of Rome must be sought in the strenuous resistance offered by the native hierarchy to the arbitrary attempt to supersede them by a new importation of Papal "Vicars Apostolic." He added that the bishops, priests, and laity of the Church had always declared the charge to be false, and that they had nothing to do with Jansenism, as was shown by their presenting professions of faith agreeing in every respect with Catholic doctrine. Even before the present controversy broke out in the Roman Catholic Church, the little Church of Utrecht was beginning to excite the interest both of Protestants and of Liberal Catholics. As early as 1838 a Protestant professor at Bonn wrote a work on the Archbishopric of Utrecht, with a view of showing its crucial importance whenever any *bona fide* attempt at reform should be made within the borders of Catholicism. And even before that, in 1826, the organ of the leading Catholic Faculty in Germany, the *Theologische Quartalschrift* of Tübingen, had called attention to this "unique phenomenon in the Catholic Church," which for more than a century had been able to hold its own, isolated as it was from the communion of the rest of Christendom, and repudiated by the chief pastor of the Church, "not for erroneous doctrines, but through human passions and pride." We may refer again to Sainte-Beuve's charming, though somewhat discursive, *History of Port Royal*, and Rauchlin's work published under a similar title in Germany, which however have only a remote bearing on the Utrecht Church. But more lately it has been frequently treated of both in the *Observateur Catholique* and by M. Réville in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; while in England some learned articles appeared in the now extinct *Christian Remembrancer*, from the pen of the late Dr. Neale, who also wrote one of the best books on the subject, *A History of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland*. The work named at the head of this article is composed, the author tells us, "in the same irenic spirit as Dollinger's famous lectures on reunion," and appears to be written with great accuracy and fairness. We shall chiefly avail ourselves of its contents in the brief sketch we now propose to give of the history of the Church of Utrecht. That history naturally divides itself into the periods before and after the separation from Rome about the beginning of the eighteenth century; and the latter period may again be subdivided at the fall of Napoleon in 1814, when the persecuted remnant had passed unscathed through the second great crisis of its history.

It is curious, in view of later events, that our first notices of the Church of Holland in the middle ages represent it as engaged on the anti-Papal side in the conflicts of the day. Bishops of Utrecht were present at the Synods of Aix and Metz in the ninth century, and again at the Synod of Rheims in 992, all held in opposition to the claims of Rome. So again in the great contest between Hildebrand and the Emperor Henry IV., Bishop William of Utrecht took the Imperial side, and was the first to sign the decree of the Synod of Worms pronouncing the deposition of the Pope, as his successor, Bishop Conrad, signed a similar decree of the Synod of Brixen in 1080. Later on the Dutch bishops appear to have taken the Papal side, which was indeed on the whole the right side, in the investiture controversy; but afterwards the oppressive exactions of the Court of Rome, especially during the time of the Avignon Captivity and the schism of the anti-Popes, led to fresh quarrels between the

* Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht. Von Fr. Nippold. Heidelberg. 1872.

Papacy and the Church of Holland, and in 1423 the country was placed under interdict by Martin V.; but the clergy resisted, and Eugenius IV. had to remove the sentence. Meanwhile the Utrecht bishops were honourably distinguished by their zealous encouragement of the reading of the Bible and the numerous vernacular translations published under their auspices. The "Brethren of the Common Life," of whom some account is given in Dr. Neale's history, were also a product of the Church of Holland, Thomas à Kempis being their most conspicuous ornament. And the last non-Italian Pope, the pious Adrian VI., who only survived his election a twelvemonth, was a Netherlander. But before the Reformation the Franciscan and Dominican monks, who gained an entrance into Holland about the middle of the thirteenth century, were sowing the seeds of discord between the Papacy and the native episcopate, of which their more energetic successors, the Jesuits, were afterwards to reap the harvest.

It was not till the Reformation, and partly as a counter-movement against it, that Utrecht was raised to an archbishopric by Philip II., and the five newly created sees of Haarlem, Deventer, Leuwarden, Groningen, and Middelburg placed under it, and the nation seem to have resented the change as an attack on their liberties. The first Archbishop, Frederick Schenck, was consecrated in the Cathedral of Utrecht in October 1568, and twelve years later the city submitted to the Prince of Orange. Both the Archbishop and his suffragan died without leaving any succession. The next Archbishop nominated by the Spanish Crown never put in an appearance, and the Chapter elected Sasbold Vosmeer Vicar-General, who was afterwards consecrated at Rome under the title of Archbishop of Philippi, in order, as the Pope explained, to avoid irritating the heretics. But meanwhile the Jesuits had effected their first settlement in Holland in 1592, and Vosmeer on returning home found himself implicated in a charge of high treason occasioned by their political machinations, and was sentenced to banishment and confiscation of his property. Thenceforth, till his death in 1614, he had to rule his diocese from Cologne, and in chronic warfare with the intrusive Order, who wanted to get the archbishopric abolished and the Church of Holland placed under the jurisdiction of the Nuncio at Cologne, or, in other words, placed entirely in their own hands. The last official document of the Archbishop, issued only four months before his death, is full of complaints of the ambition, avarice, fickleness, and hatred of the Jesuit missionaries. And matters only grew worse afterwards. The next Archbishop was Rovenius, who was very active in combating the Protestant sectaries, but he too found himself involved before long in difficulties with the Jesuits, and addressed an elaborate missive against their "fraudulent machinations" in 1623 from Rome to the pro-Vicar of Haarlem, which, as the writer in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift* observes, clearly proves that he claimed "ordinary" jurisdiction over all the clergy, both regular and secular, as Archbishop. At last a Concordat with the Jesuits was arranged, with the sanction of Urban VIII., but they could never be induced to observe it. Ten years afterwards Rovenius writes to a certain Father Tirinus, "entreating him by the mercies of God to cease stirring up the hearts of the innocent against their pastors," and similar complaints are repeated five years later in a memorial addressed by him to the Pope. Jansen, the famous Bishop of Ypres, was a friend of Rovenius, who seems to have formed a favourable judgment of his *Augustinus*, but assented at once to the Bull directed against it in 1642. On his death, in 1651, James de la Torre, who had been his coadjutor, succeeded to the archbishopric. He had been a close ally of the Jesuits, but nevertheless he now found himself compelled to protest against their proceedings at Rome, and issue stringent injunctions for the better observance of the Concordat; but all in vain. He died of a broken heart, and the Chapter elected John van Neercassel, a man of sterner metal, who vigorously resisted Jesuit aggressions. And now first the nickname of Jansenists began to be applied to the episcopal party who had formerly been called "Sasboldians," after Sasbold Vosmeer, by their Jesuit assailants. The explanation is a very simple one; many of the persecuted Jansenist clergy so-called, who had been driven out of France where their enemies ruled supreme, took refuge in Holland, and being men of piety and sterling worth, were naturally welcomed as helpers and allies by their clerical brethren there, who had the same foe to contend against. Neercassel presented thirteen propositions for the restraint of Jesuit influence to the Pope, and as similar complaints against them as "enemies and rivals of episcopal authority everywhere" were pouring in from bishops of the most remote regions, and even one of the Cardinals had denounced their "universal disobedience," a General Congregation of the Sacred College, in 1671, sanctioned most of Neercassel's demands, but with little practical result. He had to encounter another serious difficulty in the bitter enmity against Catholicism provoked by the dragonnades of Louis XIV. and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But his personal character seems to have commanded general respect, and he was also distinguished as a devotional writer; but his chief work, *Amor Patriens*, which was highly praised by Bossuet, was put on the Index at Rome, though Innocent XI. would never allow the decree to be published. It was published in 1690, the year after his death, when the author had already gone to his rest. He died of an illness brought on by over-exertion in a Confirmation tour in 1686.

And now we come to the most critical epoch in the history of

the Utrecht Church. On Neercassel's death his friend, Francis von Heussen, was elected by the Chapter, but the Jesuit party contrived to have his appointment annulled at Rome, thinking it a favourable opportunity for getting the native hierarchy suppressed, and the Church of Holland placed, according to their old scheme, under the Papal nuncio at Cologne. But in this they were foiled. The Chapter elected Peter Codde, a man of deep piety, but undecided and scrupulous, and the election was confirmed at Rome. Five years later, Innocent XI. having died in the interim, the Jesuits lodged a formal charge of Jansenism against him before the Holy See, but a Commission presided over by Cardinal Albani, afterwards Clement XI., entirely acquitted him. His assailants, however, were not to be so easily discouraged. In 1697 Father Doucin, a Jesuit who had accompanied the French Embassy sent to Holland about the Treaty of Ryswick, published an anonymous pamphlet "On the Condition and Progress of Jansenism in Holland." The alleged grounds of the indictment were the encouragement of Bible reading, the too great strictness in the confessional, the use of the vernacular in baptism, marriage, and extreme unction, and the inadequate devotion paid to relics and images. The Court of Rome acted warily; many vigorous replies were published, and the Archbishop himself wrote three times to the College of Propaganda, demanding an investigation, but could get no reply. At last he sent in his defence, and on September 25, 1709, his deposition was secretly decreed, but on the same day a polite invitation was despatched to him from the Propaganda to come to Rome, "where his counsel was needed in certain weighty matters." Codde, to use the words of Professor Nippold, was "one of those men of the Haneberg and Hefele stamp, who are ready to sacrifice their convictions to external union with Rome." He obeyed the summons, and was received with studied courtesy, but his request for a written statement of the charges against him and the names of his accusers was persistently evaded. However, he handed in a second reply, and more than three hundred of his clergy wrote in his defence, of not including any of the Jesuits. The matter was allowed to hang fire for two years, when at last a Commission of ten Cardinals, appointed under hostile influences, felt constrained to acquit him in December 1701; but their decision was kept secret, and the opposite party contrived to get it superseded in the following May, for, as the *Tübingen reviewer* observes, "they cared nothing about his orthodoxy; their object, and their sole object, was to get him deposed, and a friend of the Jesuits put in his place." At last, in June 1702, Theodore de Cock was named Vicar-Apostolic, and his nomination announced to the Chapter of Utrecht, but without any intimation to the Archbishop himself, who had now been detained two years and a-half in Rome, and was still outwardly treated with every mark of respect. The Chapter refused to recognize "the usurped authority" of De Cock, and the Government annulled his appointment, and threatened to imprison him and banish all the Jesuits from Holland if Codde was detained any longer. That kind of argument Rome always understands. Codde was at once dismissed with the Pope's blessing, but without being informed that six days before a Papal missive had been despatched to the Catholics of Holland, endorsing the sentence of deposition against him. Meanwhile a letter of De Cock's to the Propaganda, which fell into the hands of the Government, led to his flight and banishment, and thenceforth he resided at Rome as Chamberlain of the Pope, and continued to traduce and vilify his native Church at his leisure. Codde returned home, but was too scrupulous to resume his episcopal functions; in reply to fresh accusations, he professed his acceptance of the five articles against Jansenism, but steadily refused to the last to declare the condemned propositions to be contained in Jansen's book. The supreme absurdity of defining, not as a matter of criticism but of dogma, that certain propositions are contained implicitly in a large folio, and the immoral tyranny of requiring persons who have never read the book, or who, like Codde, have read it and come to different conclusions, to swear that they are contained there, is of course self-evident. Nevertheless for refusing to do this the Roman Inquisition anathematized him after his death, and forbade his having Christian burial or prayers being offered for his soul.

But the patience of the Chapter of Utrecht was already exhausted. Catz, who had acted as Vicar-General during the Archbishop's detention at Rome, and had been suspended, issued a protest against the decree of Propaganda, and appealed *ad Papam melius informandum*, and the Chapter refused to receive Adam Dæmen, who was appointed Papal Vicar. In July 1709 the Jesuits were actually banished from Holland. On December 18, 1710, the Archbishop died excommunicate, and the breach with Rome had begun. At that time the Jesuits were still seemingly at the zenith of their power. They ruled the French Church through the King's mistress, Madame de Maintenon. Only the year before Codde's death the hated establishment of Portugal had been broken up by an armed force despatched by Cardinal de Noailles, the much-enduring nuns ejected and distributed among different French prisons for refusing to swear assent to two contradictory decisions of successive Popes, the convent buildings levelled to the ground, and the bones of their former occupants exhumed and burnt amid outrages too loathsome to be specified. Three years later the long struggle of the Jesuits for doctrinal supremacy was crowned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. But already they were tottering to their fall. The Provincial Letters had been in circulation for half a century, and

in another half-century the Order was destined to succumb to the universal indignation of Catholic Europe.

In a future notice we hope to trace the history of the Church of Utrecht from the separation with Rome to the present time.

THE HEBREW OR IBERIAN RACE.*

HERE is another of those astonishing productions which ever and anon come from a set of worthy people who, one would think, must live, like the Cyclopes, in caves or on the tops of mountains, or, like Homer's goddesses, each one by himself in an island of his own, musing much, reading somewhat, but seeing and hearing nothing of what goes on in the common world. We might conceive them as a kind of intellectual anchorites, each man quartered in a different corner of the desert, and each diligently watering his own dry stick, at the bidding, for aught we know, of the supreme Archimandrite of this austere and self-denying order. Self-denying we say; for it really must need something of an effort when a man, whose wish evidently is both to gain knowledge for himself and to spread it abroad among others, deliberately cuts himself off from all the ordinary opportunities of finding that for which he is seeking. It is of course easy to understand that a man who cares nothing about a particular subject may know nothing of the sources of knowledge which seem most obvious to those who do care about it. But it is not easy to conceive a man who has tastes which lead him to study, or at least to think about, a particular subject, but who really knows as little about the most obvious sources of knowledge on that subject as if he had himself never given the subject a thought. It does seem to imply something of a deliberate act, something of a designed self-banishment to such caves and islands as we before hinted at. The only difficulty as to our theory—shall we say our Cyclopean, our Cimmerian, or our Troglodyte theory?—is that the members of this remarkable sect do contrive, in one very important point, to keep up a connexion with the outer world. We think it was not a philologist of any kind, but a commentator on the Bible, who himself printed his many folios in his own kitchen with no help but that of his maidservant. But the class of whom we now speak are not driven to such shifts; they find printers and publishers in London, Oxford, and other cities of articulate-speaking men. Mr. Kilgour indeed seems, by the quarter in which his speculations are given to the world, to aspire to a circulation spreading over a wider field than the Isle of Britain. Indeed "the right of translation is reserved." We can only suppose that Mr. Kilgour has hopes of seeing himself appear either in the Hebrew or in the Basque tongue—only, on his theory, perhaps one translation might do for both. The better known languages of civilized Europe would perhaps hardly come within his range. At any rate we fear that Mr. Kilgour in any language will find the wise men of Germany very stubborn in beliefs a long way removed from his theories about the Hebrews and the Iberians.

Mr. Kilgour is not at all of the same sect as Mr. Kavanagh, who knows what the comparative philologists have said, but who thinks it all wrong. Nor is he of the same sect as Mr. Brown, who writes about Poseidon, who also knows what the comparative philologists have said, and who thinks that he believes the same as they do, while in truth he says something quite different. With Mr. Kilgour all the scientific research of the last half-century goes altogether for nothing. We think that his treatise contains no reference to it whatever, beyond a single contemptuous mention of the Sanscrit language. There is no sign that he ever heard of such distinctions as Aryan, Semitic, Turanian, and such like. Still less is there any sign that he ever heard of such a thing as Grimm's Law. If any two names in any two languages happen to have a letter or two the same, it is enough to make Mr. Kilgour put this and that together. It does not matter whether history and geography allow of any connexion between the two things; it does not matter whether the laws of language allow of any connexion between the two names; it does not matter whether Mr. Kilgour has got hold of the genuine forms of the words, or only of some modern corruptions of them; if he can find a *b* and an *r* in any two names in any part of the world, it is enough for him to prove them to be undoubtedly connected, and to infer their bearers to have been Hebrews, Iberians, Cumbrians, Hibernians, and what not, all at once. Wherever a *b* and an *r* are to be found, there is Heber; and wherever a *p* or any letter at all cognate to *p* is found in company with *n*, say, for instance, among the Vandals, or at Winchester, or generally anywhere else, there are the Poeni, or Phœnicians, who are the same as the Pelasgians, who are again the same as certain Jews in Abyssinia called Falasha or Falasyans. The Guebres in Persia are Hebrews. "In Thrace we have the large river the Hebrus, the derivation of which from Heber is self-evident, and which, like the river Chaboras, flowed through a country inhabited by the children of Eber." So of course did the Iberus or Ebro in Spain, "and the name of Iberia directly shows the connexion of Spain with the children of Eber." "The derivation of the name Epirus (Eberus) is discernible at once." All this is a comparatively mild form of lunacy, but things get stronger when we are told that "the towns of Cabyra, Cabira, Ibra, Im-

brus, Baris, Barissa, and Prusa, the people called Tibareni, and the rivers Thymbrus and Thymbrius"; Phrygia, too, Paroneia, Bornea, Bessapara, Selymbria, and Mesembria, Perhaebia (Eberhaebia), Brauron, Paros, Imbrus, and "the Promontories of Zephyrium in Crete, of Caphareus in Eubœa (*sic*), and of Cyparissus in the Peloponnesus," and the isle of Cyprus itself, all bear in their names the signs of the presence of these same ubiquitous children of Eber. More strangely still, they have left their mark on the district of Parasopias in Boeotia, and on "certain of the Spartans called Parthenians." These last bits of etymology are fine examples of the way in which a man with a theory will pass by the things which lie most directly under his nose. So again, the following bit shows how much better it is to go all lengths while one is about it:—

Hesperia was an ancient name of Italy, and of Spain. It is submitted that this name was derived from Heber. Another derivation has been given, namely, from Hesperus, the evening star. But, as often happens, is this not reversing the derivation? Has Hesperus not been derived from Hesperia? In corroboration of the derivation from Eber, we have Hispania as a name of Spain, Hispalis (the modern Seville) as the name of a most ancient and most important city of Spain, stated to have been founded by the Poeni. Now the name of Hispania is evidently derived from the Poeni—His-Poeni—and Hispalis from the Pelasgi, His-Pali; and may we not therefore most justly conclude that Hesperia is derived from Hes-Iberia?

Meanwhile it is funny that, when Mr. Kilgour comes across a real bit of Hebrew, he does not see it. We had always thought that the name of Dido was good Semitic, and was in truth nothing else than the feminine of David. But Mr. Kilgour says that "the name of Dido (Divido) seems to be a Latin translation of Peleg or Pelasgi—her other name, Elissa, seeming to be a softened and contracted form of Pelasgi." This instance shows that while Mr. Kilgour is so busy with his friends under their primary name of Hebrews, he does not forget them under their other titles. So again when he is in the thick of Parasopias and Perhaebia, alias Eberhaebia, he does not forget that the latter district has "the large river Peneus [we wonder how Mr. Kilgour writes this name in Greek] flowing along its boundary, and deriving its name from the Poeni, another name of the same race, and we also know that the same race, under the name of Pelasgi, were so numerous and powerful in Thessaly that it was called Pelasgia." One passage more, and we think that we shall have given specimens enough of the theoretical parts of Mr. Kilgour's essay. While we are in the middle of these more ancient speculations we suddenly find ourselves carried away to people who more nearly concern us, and to the days of the Wandering of the Nations:—

It may be here adverted to that there has always been to us something of the nature of an enigma about the German Vandals having conquered Spain in the year 411 of the Christian era; and about their country Andalusia—that is, Vandalusia—lying in the most southern part of Spain; and about their conquests in Africa—an enigma never as yet cleared up to our satisfaction. In point of fact, Was all this not brought about by the native Jews or Vandals of Spain? But into this matter we cannot enter further at present, as it would take up too much time.

We could almost wish that Mr. Kilgour had found time for the purpose, as few things could be more curious than the arguments by which it might be shown that Genseric was a Jew.

But we had inklings all along that there was something at work in Mr. Kilgour's mind more than mere ethnological or etymological speculation. Very early in the argument, among "facts now existing" we find "that the Jews, like the old Phœnicians, Poeni, or Vends, have been from time immemorial, and still are, great traders and financiers; the Jewish family of Rothschild being, in this respect, in the present day, the first in Europe or the world, whether as regards Jews or Christians." But we come to greater things when we get into our own island. It is a small matter to be told that "there is every reason for believing that Britain was originally Eberitain," and that Eber is to be found at Dumbarton, the Humber, Eboracum, Cumberland, and a crowd of other names, besides the remarkable fact that "certainly the name of the Western Isles—the Hebrides [where unluckily the *ri* is a mere miswriting for *u*—embodies the name of Heber with scarcely any contraction whatever." It is something more when we read

There was a town in Northumberland, in the territory of the Brigantes, named by the Romans Bremenium, and which evidently meant the Hebrewmen. In connection with this, it will be found most significant that a well-known Hanse town of the same name—Bremen—existed in Germany, where the Vends or Vandals were settled.

But in the next page we come to something far more important:—

It may be allowed to be observed as not without interest, in connection with the origin of the names of the Britannie Isles and the race of Eber, that an undoubted descendant of that race has lately occupied the position of Prime Minister in the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

After this we confess that we hurried on through a great deal about Vandals and other people, and about the names of the Deity in various languages, and even about such more exciting facts as that the Latin *pondus* and English *pound*, the Latin *funus*, "meaning usury or interest," and yet more *funis*, a rope—"for commerce can scarcely be carried on without ropes in connexion with ships and otherwise"—were all obviously derived from the mercantile Poeni, Pheni, or Vends; who, by the way, were either so called from their habit of wending or going about, or else the verb to *wend* was formed from their name, which last Mr. Kilgour thinks is more likely. Considering several of the Mosæic laws, we were not surprised to hear that "an extremely old and close connexion had existed between the Hebrew race and goats," but it did seem strange to read, "that the Hebrew race had to do with the rearing and breeding of swine may be deduced from the

* *The Hebrew or Iberian Race, including the Pelasgians, the Phœnicians, the Jews, the British, and others.* By Henry Kilgour. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

names of the male of the *zoo* in Greek, Latin, and English." It was even more curious to read that "*Pony* seems to be directly connected with *Poeni*," and that "*penny* is evidently derived from *Poeni*." The following also was not a little interesting:—

That the names of wine in Greek, Latin, and English—*oinos* (or *phoinos*), *vinum*, and *wine*—are all evidently derived from the name of the *Poeni* or *Pheni*, who must therefore have introduced its use into these countries; and it must be admitted that the Hebrew race have always had a strong love for alcohol in every shape, vinous and otherwise. Beer may be traced to the same race, the *Iberi*, and ale to the worshippers of *El*. We have also the Latin word *ebrius*.

Yet we hastened through all these things to get to some pages in smaller print towards the end, which looked as if they contained some more practical suggestions. It seems that Mr. Kilgour wishes to promote the further progress of mankind, and with that end he has "written and published two brief yet comprehensive papers—one of a political and social, the other of a scientific nature—both of which, he humbly apprehends, clearly point the way in which such progress ought to proceed." The second, or scientific paper, has a title which is too hard for us, "Nitrogen shown to be carbonic oxide in an allotropic state." But, according to Mr. Kilgour's own account of it, "in it is revealed a harmony in the constitution of nature of the most simple, beautiful, comprehensive, and self-proving order, having the effect of elevating and expanding the mind, and redounding in the highest degree to the glory of the Creator." We deeply regret therefore that both this paper and its fellow "had, as was perhaps to be expected, very little circulation." Yet the title of the other, first published in 1858, and republished in 1869, was a taking title, a title which, as Mr. Kilgour says, "in some degree explains the object of the paper, that object being in complete accordance with the deeply interesting history and the most valuable traditions of Great Britain." It runs thus:—"Proposition of a Joint Committee of the Legislatures and Governments of the British Empire, having periodical meetings in Great Britain." We have very vague notions of what such a Joint Committee would be like, but we are assured that, "most carefully guarded and thoroughly practical, the proposed institution would tend to elevate and expand the minds of men in a way never before witnessed." "The still, small voice of the Goodness and the Truth embodied in the propositions in these papers, but especially in the first, shall yet, it is believed, prevail over, and will help entirely to supersede, the various kinds of artillery with their melancholy and terrible power of devastation and destruction." The institution of the Joint Committee "will constitute one of the great eras in the world." "The Acts enacting its institution will be the truest educational Acts ever enacted." And no wonder, for "the Empire will then be made, in one point of view, to form, as it were, one vast educational University." The Joint Committee is to do all kinds of wonderful things for the whole British Empire. It is to be a greater work than the Suez Canal; it is to get rid of all need of Ballot Bills and Permissive Bills, and even, if we rightly understand Mr. Kilgour, to banish "party vainglory, party strife, and party selfishness, at least for a time." "The proposed unification, first commencing with the colonies, will ultimately include India. Carried into effect, this will no doubt be one of the greatest crowning works of the Hebrew race." We presume therefore that it is to be carried out by that "undoubted descendant of that race who has lately occupied the position of Prime Minister." But it is upon Ireland, Hibernia, the island in whose name, as Mr. Kilgour reminds us, "the name of Heber is retained without any contraction whatever," that the Joint Committee will shed its choicest blessings. "Such a union will be seen by our Irish brethren to be infinitely more desirable, and calculated to be infinitely more beneficial, than Home Rule, with its isolating, and therefore most retrogressive tendencies, a union which ought to cause all good men of every creed and of every country to rejoice, and to look forward to the future with high hope, and in the contemplation of the realization of which Heaven itself would resound with songs of the highest joy." These are great things to come of a Joint Committee, even aided by the fact that nitrogen is carbonic oxide in an allotropic state. We feel about them as we do towards our old friends the Freemasons when they tell us all about Freemasonry except what Freemasonry is. So our heart turns towards the Joint Committee and the allotropic nitrogen which are in this way to regenerate India and Ireland; only we long to know what they are. If we had ever seen the two papers, doubtless we should know; but, owing no doubt to the very little circulation of the still small voice of goodness and truth, we have, alas, never come across them. Yet we feel sure that they would raise us far above any such small matters as whether pennies and ponies take their name from the *Poeni*, whether the *Wends* were so called from their habit of wending, and whether the city of Bremen really means a dwelling of Hebrew men. We will only end with Mr. Kilgour's glowing picture of what the Hebrew race is to do when once the Joint Committee is appointed:—

In this way, shall we carry out into full development the great civilizing mission of the Hebrew race, for we venture to predict that the proposed Joint Committee, when instituted, would, through the benign influences which would be brought to bear upon it, naturally and gradually, however slowly, expand into the sublime spectacle of a World-Council, with all its benefits.

BRITISH MUSEUM PHOTOGRAPHS.*

THE British Museum has long ago made good its title to the foremost place among national collections of its class. Nor is this supremacy due alone to the encyclopædic character of its contents. It is even in a higher degree owing to the unsurpassed excellence of the objects which it has to show in well nigh every department. The energy and ability of its official staff, backed by the munificence and public spirit of many a donor, added to a highly creditable liberality on the part of the national purseholders, have brought about a result not only flattering to the national pride, but of invaluable service to the study of science and art.

Limited as the immediate benefit of collections of this class has hitherto been, and in the nature of things must to a great extent ever be, to those who can command opportunities of personal inspection and study, there is much that can be done in an indirect way to diffuse a knowledge of their contents. The advance recently made in the auxiliary processes of art has opened a way in this direction which promises results of a highly satisfactory kind. It is precisely in this department that photography best lends itself to the purposes of diffusion and study. The representation of art treasures such as those we speak of has been till now possible only at an immoderate cost. An enterprise lately set on foot with praiseworthy spirit will henceforth place within the scope of ordinary means a series of the masterpieces of the national collection. By the sanction of the Trustees and with the aid of the principal Librarian, nearly a thousand plates have been taken of objects selected by the several heads of departments, which may be looked upon as typical specimens in each class. It has been stipulated that the price of each print, varying in size from 12 by 10 to 10 by 8 inches, shall not exceed two shillings unmounted. The price of mounted prints rises in a graduated scale to 3s. 6d. for cut mounts, buff, white, or blue, with gilt-edged opening. Suitable portfolios are provided, and are offered gratis to each purchaser of a set, a complete section, or any 100 selected photographs. The complete set, comprising 929 mounted photographs in twelve portfolios (gratis), is to be purchased for 116l. 2s. 6d., or, bound in twelve handsome volumes, in the highest of three optional styles, for 143l.

The full series of photographs, made up of seven parts, is designed to exhibit evidences of man's advance from the earliest known stage of his history, with the gradual development of social life and usage, of belief, science, and artistic culture, to their highest or latest standards. The Prehistoric and Ethnographical section, which rightfully leads the way, has been selected and catalogued by Mr. A. W. Franks, who has also discharged the same good offices for the Antiquities of Britain and Objects of Mediæval Art which form Part VI. Parts II.—V. inclusive, comprising respectively the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Grecian, and the Etruscan, running into the Roman period, have been committed to the able hands of Dr. Samuel Birch, assisted in the Assyrian Department by Mr. George Smith, the editor of the recent *Life of Asshur-ban-i-pal*, and in that of Classic Antiquity by Mr. Charles Newton. To Mr. Walter De Gray Birch is due the Catalogue of Seals of Sovereigns, Corporations, &c., which forms the Seventh Part. No higher authorities, it will be seen at once, could have been chosen for the conduct of the design; and the selection of examples, ably photographed by Mr. Stephen Thompson, bespeaks the care and judgment with which their task has been fulfilled. The general introduction, from the pen of Mr. Charles Harrison, marred as it is in parts by slovenly writing, traces with clearness, and with as much fulness as is compatible with the limits of a popular summary, the successive stages of culture illustrated in each several series as connected periods in the evolution of mankind. No pains have been spared in preparing what the publishers have reason to regard as the best and cheapest means of placing such collections before the historian, the student, or the public, especially if it should be followed up by a systematic exchange of similar photographs between the chief national and local Museums of Europe and America.

Exact chronology in the case of the rude objects which betoken man's earliest presence upon the earth is of course out of the question. In presenting, however, a selection of unpolished stone implements from the drift at Hoxne, Herne Bay, Gray's Inn Lane, and Abbeville, it cannot be questioned that the series before us carries the mind back to as remote and rudimentary a period of man's being and intelligence as we have the means of figuring to ourselves. Other groups of chipped flints, some bearing unmistakable marks of wear, from Poitou, the Aveyron, and elsewhere, furnish no less typical specimens of prehistoric handicraft. Plates 5 and 6 show seventeen harpoon-heads of reindeer horn, some barbed on one side, others on both sides, probably used in fishing, from a cave near Bruniquel, Tarn et Garonne. To the same Palæolithic, or First Stone Period, belong the needles and other instruments, chiefly of horse's-bone, together with divers bones showing figures of animals rudely etched, which form a succession of interesting plates. Most noteworthy of all must be thought the rough but expressive figure of a mammoth (Plate 10) carved in reindeer horn, as the handle of a poignard, from a cave at Montastruc, near Bruniquel, photographed from a cast in the Christy Collection. We fail to see the not less curious etchin

* Catalogue of a Series of Photographs from the Collections of the British Museum. Taken by S. Thompson. First Series. London: Mansell & Co. 1872.

of the side view of a mammoth on a large bone, apparently of the urus, which, unless memory deceives us, is also to be seen in the Christy Museum. These rude drawings are of infinite value as unmistakable proofs of man having lived in company with the mastodon and other long extinct mammals. Three casts of skulls found in a cave at Cro-Magnon, near Les Eyzies, Dordogne (Plate 12), exhibit probably as early remains of man himself as research has disinterred from their resting-place of ages. It is interesting to compare with these the modern carving in walrus-ivory, horn, and wood (Plate 91, Ethnographical Series), by natives of the North-West Coast of America. We may further, by the aid of the same series, study side by side the earliest prehistoric flint flakes from the Glacial drift with implements used at the present day by the Arctic tribes or Pacific islanders. Here are proofs of the persistence of the most archaic and simple forms of human art down to the present day. Intermediate forms may be instructively seen in the implements of the Neolithic or Polished Stone Period, and that at which bronze, and subsequently iron, came into use. Picks from antlers of red deer, probably used in getting from the chalk the material for flint weapons, implements, or ornaments (Plate 18); hammers pierced probably with a wooden drill worked with sand and water; knives, scrapers, and arrow and javelin heads of flint, together with the cores from which they have been chipped (Plate 21), are fair and graphic illustrations of primeval art. From the simple threshing-machines now in use in the East or at Aleppo (Plates 42 and 43) we may infer other modes in which these hard native materials were made into a rude kind of machinery, not less difficult to make or less ingenious in invention than many a more complex engine of our day. Still higher ideas of the artistic taste and powers of handicraft attained at that early age are forced upon us by the curious colossal figure, Hoa-haka-nana-la, from Easter Island (Plates 77 and 78), hewn from hard granite, most expressive in its gorilla-like cast of feature, the back incised with native animals and symbols. Whether we agree or not with the view taken in the preface, that this idol is the work of a race that knew not the use of metal, we can scarcely be wrong in recognizing in it the memorial of a civilization long passed away.

Passing from the prehistoric to the historical period, we find ourselves first upon firm and solid ground among the mighty monuments of the Nile valley. The wealth and variety of materials furnished by the Egyptian Department of the National Collection enables Dr. Birch to illustrate the earliest authentic stage of civilized life with a degree of fulness of which none other is perhaps equally capable. What particularly arrests the eye is probably the high pitch of artistic skill and domestic comfort at which the Egyptian is thus early seen. Porcelain tiles dating as far back as the Second Dynasty (Plate 286), a glass perfume bottle bearing the name of Thothmes III., Eighteenth Dynasty (1450 B.C.), the earliest glass known with a date (plate 283), a wooden board with Hieratic inscription, a treatise on grammar and rhetoric for the use of a school, written about 1800 (Plate 280), mural paintings and tablets in tempera, almost without number, depicting scenes of domestic life, agricultural work, sporting, music, and dancing, royal triumphs, rites of religion and care of the dead, bring before us every phase of a national life which reached its culminating point some thirty-three centuries ago. Arranged as far as may be in chronological order, and grouped systematically as connected subjects, these expressive plates furnish a pictorial history in which the native and original elements of art and thought can be traced without a break till they wane and are superseded under the influence of foreign and intrusive styles. Another great and independent well of civilization is opened up among the newly recovered treasures of Assyria and Babylonia. It is in this department that one main design of the present publication is most signally to be realized. The magnificent series of inscribed slabs, cylinders, and tablets may be studied by the aid of these clear and well-defined photographs with a facility greater even in some respects than is possible within the walls of the Museum itself. Students of cuneiform writing will find here examples in almost endless number and variety, admirably selected and classified. Not to speak of the sources of historical knowledge to be opened up in the records of the realm, with the codes of law or domestic usage, it were sufficient to point to the series comprising an entire grammatical encyclopedia from the library of Asshur-ban-i-pal (667 A.D.), of which an analysis is given in Mr. Harrison's introduction. Arithmetic, astronomy, a methodical pharmacy mixed with a less scientific system of incantations, have a place in this characteristic literature. Fractions are to be recognized, with the denominator 60, the sole representative of the decimal and duodecimal scales; and (see Plates 559, 560) even algebra and square roots.

The master works of Greek genius, in which the Museum is transcendently rich, are too well known to be easily singled out for notice. We need say no more than that the Panathenaic series from the Parthenon appears entire, as do all the colossal though sadly fragmentary glories of Phidias from both eastern and western pediments, with the grand remains from the Mausoleum, &c. The associated groups and examples of sculpture exhibit the contrast or change of feeling characteristic of successive periods of Greek art, whether at home or in the colonies, as well as its points of affinity and contrast with the arts of Egypt and the East, which the tiro will find succinctly and clearly drawn out for him in the introduction. Apart, however, from such educational functions, the choice array of specimens here brought together have

a charm of their own as embodying types of supreme beauty. Engraved gems, bronzes, vases of the archaic and later periods, with delicate works in terra-cotta and glass, find in the photographic process a medium peculiarly fitted for effective display. The same delicacy of representation, with no less feeling and knowledge in selection, is shown in the later portions of this choice collection, which hands on the lamp of artistic skill and culture to our own shores and to the present day. It is impossible by any process of selection to do justice to the profusion or to the significance of the varied objects which make up this handsome contribution to the literature of art.

BARON GRIMBOSH.*

WE have recently witnessed the revival of a literary fashion which for a long period seemed to be almost extinct. Prophets have begun to speak to us in parables. That peculiar department of literature which in the last century received contributions from Captain Gulliver, M. Candide, and Prince Rasselas has lately been revived by several clever writers. The great success of *Gin's Baby* was the first symptom of the revival. Since its appearance somewhat similar attempts have been made by the authors of the *Coming Race* and of *Erethion*. Both of those books showed decided talent, and have received very high commendation. It is only natural that other writers should try their luck in working the same vein. When a mine has proved successful in a new district, the public is forthwith tempted by the attractions of any number of similar ventures. To some such impulse we probably owe the appearance of *Baron Grimbosh*, which aims at conveying an elaborate political satire under the form of a fanciful fiction. Of course the proper remark to be made on such an occasion is that no such trenchant satire or pungent wit has appeared since the time of Swift. For reasons which will presently appear we do not feel able to pronounce so high a eulogium upon *Baron Grimbosh*, but the comparison may suggest a few remarks upon the canons of criticism applicable to this species of literature generally. *Gulliver's Travels* and *Candide* are two of the most popular books ever written. Much of the writing in both is anything but edifying. Swift's misanthropy and morbid love of filth are frequently repulsive in the highest degree; and Voltaire's wonderful novel has faults which, to put it gently, would probably prevent a bishop from recommending it as a text-book for the study of the French language in girls' schools. The impression, however, which is made in each case is so vivid that the moral which each writer wishes to recommend is undoubtedly impressed upon us more indelibly than by any quantity of direct preaching. The obvious explanation is of course that Voltaire and Swift were men of the very highest literary power. Swift gives the essence of that strong rough humour which is the conspicuous quality of much of our best English writing; and Voltaire gives an equally perfect specimen of the analogous French characteristic of incomparably brilliant, clear, and logical wit. But why do the wit and humour find so convenient a vehicle in this special form of composition? Nothing in this world is more generally tiresome than a prolonged allegory. When a poet tries to express an abstract truth by the action of concrete personages, he generally succeeds only in provoking the question why he cannot give us one thing or the other, or the two things separately. The merit most required in the statement of an abstract theory is that it should be perfectly clear and coherent. The great merit of a story is that it should be capable, like every true narrative, of suggesting an infinite number of meanings, besides the obvious prosaic moral. When an attempt is made to bind the two things together both generally suffer. The theory becomes less intelligible by the indirect mode of conveying it, as may be inferred from the infinite number of meanings generally attributed by commentators to stories suspected of being allegorical. The story meanwhile is spoilt because the actors are compelled to walk in fetters instead of developing the plot according to its aesthetic capacities. When one reads, for example, an elaborate attempt to interpret such a poem as the Second Part of *Faust*, an Englishman at any rate feels that the philosophy would have been the better if not trammelled by the poetry, and the poetry if not confused by the philosophy. Now in the books of which we are speaking this difficulty is simply obviated. Voltaire and Swift each took a very simple text to expound. That the best of all possible worlds is a strange chaos, of good and evil, that the human race is vile, petty, and contemptible, are propositions which are short, pithy, and, it may perhaps be added, partially true. They are true enough, that is, to express very general and deep sentiments, though sentiments which are very much in want of correction. No elaborate machinery was required to work out the theory contained in either book. On the other hand, any number of vivid illustrations of the doctrine might be accumulated. The more grotesque they were the better. Any amount of play might be given to the fancy, as a fable in which beasts talk is all the better for its flagrant impossibility. The symbol should be as strange and fantastic as may be, though preserving a constant reference to the essential facts of human life. Each story is a gallery of caricatures, all illustrating the same doctrine, and forcing it upon us by their accumulative influence. The purpose is not to prove a theory, but, by a fanciful extravagance, to set it in the clearest light.

* *Baron Grimbosh*. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1872.

The conditions thus indicated are the most obvious ones for a successful story of the satirical kind. There should be some clear and simple proposition to be enforced, the mind of the reader should be steadily fixed upon it, and it should be expressed by as many and as grotesque illustrations as possible. It is a very difficult thing to preach an obvious truism in direct terms without becoming intolerably monotonous. The method of which we are speaking is an ingenious way of drilling a simple truth into the public by presenting it in every possible light and under cover of extravagant forms which amuse us by their oddity. The old "Dance of Death" was an analogous variety of pictorial art. That death takes every man was a platitude which the utmost rhetorical skill could scarcely make interesting; but when death was shown in every fanciful combination, dancing with the king, the priest, the soldier, and the peasant, the old familiar saying became impressed by the incessant repetition in various forms.

If we proceed now to test *Baron Grimbosh* by the standard thus set up—rather a high one it must be admitted—we shall probably not be disposed to treat it very seriously. The idea is tolerably simple. Grimbosh—we do not quite understand why he is called Baron on the title-page and made into a Duke in the body of the book—is supposed to have been appointed Governor of Barataria. Barataria represents England; and the Governor is full of the most admirable intentions of suppressing drunkenness, enforcing universal education, discouraging war, and generally making his subjects happy, wise, virtuous, and prosperous. Immediately upon entering on his office he is surrounded by all the various quacks, political and social, who are in the habit in real life of expressing their sentiments in Social Science Associations, and at other meetings of a kindred character. A number of memorials are immediately laid before him from these amiable persons. The first proposes the abolition of war and of standing armies; a second, the establishment of perfect equality between the sexes; a third, the forcible suppression of the habit of drinking spirituous liquors; a fourth, the suppression of the use of butcher's meat; a fifth, the suppression of adulteration; a sixth, the suppression of diplomacy; a seventh, the suppression of seduction; an eighth, the raising of wages, and the provision of rose-water baths for the general public; a ninth, the facilitation of divorce; a tenth, the suppression of tobacco; and an eleventh, the establishment of national workshops. After receiving these memorials Grimbosh proceeds to hold a number of interviews with various deputations, and with the most eminent men amongst the Baratarians. These last, we may remark, are intended for portraits of Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Bright, and others, which do not imply that the author has any great skill as a caricaturist. Grimbosh receives the deputations, and exposes the fallacy of their theories by arguments which we fancy that we have heard before. We do not sympathize with the defenders of women's rights, but we do not think that those pushing persons will feel themselves crushed by a repetition of the statement that home is their realm, and that if they leave it for the hard, stony highway of politics and public affairs, they will deprive themselves of all true happiness. Finally, Grimbosh allows himself to be partially converted by some of these enthusiasts. He proposes measures for the abolition of the liquor-traffic and the institution of a court of arbitration between nations. Both measures are ignominiously thrown out; a revolution follows, and Grimbosh has to abdicate, and to return to his native country, Pumpernickel. His sovereign tells him that as a statesman he is a fool, but confers a dukedom upon him for his skill in inventing salads.

So much for the fable. The moral, if we understand it rightly, is tolerably simple. It is apparently that the various measures proposed for the regeneration of the species are contemptible quackeries, and that a statesman who should try to carry them out would be a fool. Of the truth or falsehood of this opinion we have no desire to speak. That is a point of minor importance. Nor need we inquire whether a writer of adequate ability might not make it the foundation of any number of ingenious illustrations. We must confess, however, that the author of *Baron Grimbosh* scarcely appears to us to be equal to the task. The caricature is scarcely as burlesque as it ought to be. The deputations of course talk nonsense, but they do not talk it in a very original or amusing fashion; and the confutations addressed to them, though sensible enough, are not remarkable for point or novelty, and are very much too diffuse to be epigrammatic. Any newspaper article on a meeting for the rights of women or the increased wages of the labouring classes gives pretty much the same statement of the demands generally put forward, and the obvious replies to them. One is induced to ask what is the use of wrapping up in the form of a fiction a few remarks about the various agitators who are just now working in the country? Of course they would consider themselves to be misrepresented in *Baron Grimbosh*; but there is not that amount of fanciful extravagance in bringing out the salient absurdities which justifies the adoption of this style of writing. When one has invented a Baron Grimbosh and a land of Barataria, one ought to make one's puppets behave with a little more originality and vivacity. It is not worth while travelling to an ideal country to come across a repetition of the place from which we started under so thin a disguise. On the same principle we object to the intrusion of our old familiar friends, such as Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. They have, it is true, rather new parts to play; but when personal satire is intended, it is better to attack the persons more directly. If, indeed, the book

were more conspicuous for genuine wit, we might easily pass over the deficiencies of the design and the faults of art in the execution. But though it is fairly written, and there is here and there a good stroke, we cannot say that it sparkles with any great vivacity, or that it does not occasionally sink into downright heaviness. In short, there is too much of the ordinary political pamphlet, or too much of the grotesque element. The mixture does not appear to us to have been very happily hit off or to show much power of satire. But the writing is tolerable, and it may amuse a spare half-hour not disagreeably.

JOHNSON'S LUCRETIVS.

IT is a bold undertaking to translate Lucretius, and whoever attempts it has rocks ahead which he can scarcely hope to avoid with half the success and skill of the great poet who originally made the voyage. Lucretius undertook and achieved the rare task of bodying forth in sonorous, spirited, and nobly sustained verse, speculations, technicalities, and matters of dry statement and demonstration which might well have seemed to defy expression in prose, much more therefore in poetry. His genius carried him through the venture, relying on the clear conception he had of the philosophy which he had mastered, and on the inherent dignity of his theme. But those who have hitherto attempted to translate him into English have all, more or less, made shipwreck. In some of the picked passages which he essayed, Dryden, as we might be sure, exhibited his wonted fire; but it is needless to add that accuracy and faithful transcript of the original were no features of even his fragmentary effort. The blank verse translation of John Mason Good is too dull to have left any mark upon its readers' minds; and the much earlier version of Creech is about the best English presentment of the *Nature of Things*, though the story that it won him his fellowship at All Souls, however much it may have redounded to the credit of that foundation in days that knew not of University Commissions, certainly represents an over-payment of very moderate merit. Our Transatlantic cousins are laudably anxious to "whip" the Old World in literature, as in all else; and truly the veteran American poet Bryant has evinced first-rate powers of translation in the Homer which is the fruit of his old age. Emulous of like success, Mr. Charles Frederick Johnson has essayed to translate Lucretius; and it is only fair to say of his performance of his task that its chief faults are faults of detail and of oversight, whilst his general level is high and well maintained. But we must add that if he soars above his predecessors, he owes much to the comparatively recent accessions of help towards a study of Lucretius which lie open in Mr. Sellar's sketch of the poet in his *Roman Poets of the Republic*, and still more in Professor Munro's thorough edition of the *Nature of Things*, a work which is no less a treasure of Latin scholarship than a model of helpfulness on all points to the readers and translators of Lucretius. No acknowledgments of Mr. Johnson's—and we do not call in question his sense of obligation—can do justice to the profound insight into his author and his author's language which is shown in that *crûme à la dî* of English scholarship, Munro's Lucretius. If, as has been somewhere remarked, "it is to Lucretius that we owe an adequate idea of the power of the Latin language," assuredly it is to Professor Munro that we owe the diffusion and popularization of that idea amongst English students. No one who has had the resolution to master his admirable work can fail to leave it with an acquisition of knowledge fully compensating the outlay of labour; with a closer and more intimate acquaintance with Lucretius and with Latin; and—last, but not least, especially in the case of possible translators—with most instructive hints as to the essentials of a model translation. Mr. Johnson, who had the good fortune to light upon Professor Munro's edition in time to revise by its aid the first draft of his translation, candidly records his obligations to it in his introduction; and indeed proofs of this constantly present themselves to the reader of Mr. Johnson's translation, which is in blank verse, of a fairly sustained character for the most part, and often, in passages which challenge special care, rising to a certain height of eloquence and vigour not unbecoming the original.

Its merits as well as its shortcomings may well be exemplified in one or two extracts of some length. Take, for instance, the well-known passage in the Fourth Book, vv. 962–1001 (*Et quo quisque fere, &c. &c.*):—

What occupies the mind, on what it most
Delighted dwells, in dreams will reappear,
And nightly visions reenact the day:
Lawyers plead causes and interpret laws;
Soldiers new battles fight, and range their fields;
With warring winds sailors rude contests wage;
While I, the worshipper of Nature, in
My country's language seek her truths to clothe.
Thus come illusions of our loved employ
In dreams, and haunt the chambers of the mind.
So those who day by day attentive dwell
Upon theatrical shows; when now the scene
No longer meets the sight, open remain
The mental avenues, and phantoms throng
A shadowy world along accustomed ways;
Even as awake they dancers seem to see
In timely measures move their floating limbs,

* Lucretius on the Nature of Things. Translated into English Verse. By Charles Frederick Johnson. New York: Lent & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1872.

While liquid sound of harp and speaking strings
Ring in their ears; the gathered throng they see,
With all the splendours of the painted scene—
So vividly is stamped what occupies
Our waking pleasures and our day's employ;
Not in men only, but as well in brutes:

The hunter-dog, in sleep unquiet wrapped,
Twitches his limbs and utters smothered cries;
With eager nostrils snuffs the frequent air,
Or starting, follows in a quick pursuit
The phantom of a deer his fancy sees
In flight—too soon, alas! awake, the fond
Illusion fades, reality returns—
The faithful watchdog see light slumbers chase,
Quick from the earth snatch his reclining limbs,
At fancied sight of stranger form suspect,
Within the limits of his guarded realm.

The first impression produced by these lines is that of a more faithful adherence to the tenor and sequence of the original than is exhibited by such translators as Creech—an improvement obviously due to the faithfulness of Mr. Munro's accurate translation, which withal is couched in such well-chosen and poetical language that in this respect also it is of the greatest assistance to the verse translator. The illustrations of the poet's thesis drawn from the stage, and from the hunting dog and the house dog, come out more truly, and in keeping with the original. There is less temptation, doubtless, with such a guide, to run off into the laxness of Creech, when out of the single verse—

Nautæ contractum cum ventis degere bellum—

he spins the purely imaginary couplet—

The merchants dream of storms, they hear them roar,
And often shipwrecked leap or swim to shore;

or when, again, he imports into another verse (980) words about "wantons dancing," which are not in any way warranted by the language of Lucretius. But, as we go deeper into the comparison of the original with the closer and more careful rendering by Johnson, we find that the latter fails in the nice insight and appreciation of the author's sense which Mr. Munro's superior scholarship exhibits. In the fourth of the verses given above, Johnson and Creech are alike content to see in

Causidici causas agere et componere leges

nothing more than the modern lawyer's double function of pleading causes and interpreting Acts of Parliament. Creech, indeed, seems to think that "componere leges" means "making laws," and to confuse the senator's occupation with the lawyer's, whilst Johnson apparently takes "componere" for "exponere." But when we refer to the prose translation of Munro, which it is curious that Mr. Johnson should have overlooked in this instance, the lawyer's occupation turns out to be more consistent with our own ideas of it—"they plead causes and draw up covenants of sale"; and on consulting the exegetical commentary we find that "componere leges," in the sense of "settling terms or drawing up covenants of sale," is not uncommon in *Cato De Re Rusticâ*, and is justified by a passage in *Cicero De Legibus*. In connexion with the passage which we have quoted up to a certain point, but broken off, for lack of space, before giving Lucretius's illustration of the lesser birds cowering in dreams "into the sacred grove's recesses" at the fancied approach of the eagle, come two lines which, by an inadvertence probably, Mr. Johnson has left out altogether:—

*Et quo queque magis sunt aspera seminiorum,
Tam magis in somnis eadem sevirè necesse est.*

They are seemingly an inference or corollary from the two descriptions of the canine species which have occurred just above; and if Mr. Johnson had rendered them, he could not have done better than reduce to blank verse the clear "construe" of Munro—"And the fiercer the different breeds are, the greater rage they must display in sleep." No one who has read the note on "leonum seminium" in Mr. Munro's commentary upon *Lucret. III. 741* could have any doubt upon the matter. It is a pity that Mr. Johnson has omitted the lines in question, because it may leave an impression that he did not know how to translate them, though an examination of his general handiwork will go far to acquit him of such utter and palpable misinterpretation as is exhibited in Creech's version of the couplet:—

But now from images whose forms comprise
Rough principles, the frightful dreams arise.

It were a sorry compliment, however, to Mr. Johnson to spend time on contrasts between him and Creech, because the latter is almost always vague and diffuse, whereas a very few lines will serve to show that the former wisely risks the imputation of indebtedness to Munro by creditable adherence to the Latin and the English prose version. We take an instance from the Fifth Book (vv. 450-4)—an illustration by Lucretius of his theory of the heavier particles of earth squeezing out the lighter atoms of the other parts of the world, and of the bursting forth of the fire-laden ether from the various earth pores:—

*Non alia longe ratione ac sæpe videmus,
Aurea cum primum gemmantès rorè per herbas
Matutina rubent radiati lumina solis,
Exhalantque lacus nebulam fluviiq; perennes,
Ipsaque ut interdum tellus fumare videtur;
Omnia quæ sursum cum conciliantur, in altum
Corpore concreto subtexunt nubila cælum.*

Professor Munro renders these lines—

Much in the same way as we often see, so soon as the morning light of

the beaming sun blushes golden over the grass jewelled with dew, and the pools and the ever-running rivers exhale a mist, and even as the earth itself is sometimes seen to smoke; and when all these are now gathered together aloft, then do clouds on high with a new cohering body weave a covering beneath heaven.

Mr. Johnson's transcript is a very fair sample of his Muse:—

As oft we see when matinal light of day
Pours golden blushes o'er the jewelled grass,
Lakes and the running streams vapours exhale,
And earth sends up a mist that, rising, is
Condensed, and clothes the firmament with clouds;
And thus the light-diffusive ether rose.

Very frequently in single lines the influence of Munro is appreciable in this version—as, for instance, in *III. 1042*, "Ipse Epicurus obit, decurso lumine vitæ"; a line to which Lachmann demurred, because he could not see "quomodo vitæ lumen decurratur," but which Mr. Munro clears up by pointing out a blending of the two ideas, "decurso vitæ spatio" and "extincto lumine vitæ," and a possible reference to the course of the sun. In this sense he translates "Even Epicurus passed away when his light of life had run its course"; and Mr. Johnson judiciously follows the lead:—

E'en Epicurus died, his course fulfilled.

At other times it would be well if he kept closer to his master—e.g. where, in showing how conscience makes cowards of the guilty, Lucretius says (*III. 1023*):—

Hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique vita.

This verse Mr. Johnson had better have turned with Munro, "The life of fools at length becomes their hell," than rendered, as he does—

Thus for the wicked life grim hell appears.

So too in the Second Book, vv. 359, 360, where it is said of the bereaved cow, whose calf has been sacrificed—

*Completque querellis
Frondiferum nemus abstens—*

there seems in Mr. Johnson's version to lurk a confusion between "consistens" and "abstens":—

*Off standing still,
She fills the leafy grove with loud complaints.*

For "standing still" should be substituted "leaving off her quest."

Indeed there can be no doubt that, with much merit, which we most willingly acknowledge, there is in Mr. Johnson's version ample occasion for a very large table of "errata." It would seem as if correction of the press were more honoured in the breach than in the observance by New York authors and publishers. And this is all the worse when, as we discover in the case with the volume before us, a work is stereotyped. In these days of "women's rights" we dare not comment upon the fact that "it is stereotyped at the Women's Printing House, Corner Avenue A, New York"; and yet we could have wished it were otherwise. In the page which gives the author's version of Iphigenia's sacrifice—a passage which the women should have printed in their best style—there are three serious omissions, and consequent marrings of sense. Not much further on, the words "Unde æther sidera pascit" reappear in the queer form "how ether feeds the censor (query censor) of the skies"; and very frequently, in the course of the six books, some obvious omission of a particle or conjunction robs a line of its just metre and proportion. It is only right to say that there are some mistakes in the shape of Patagonian lines, and lines that never could be reduced to harmony, which it would be hardly just to saddle on the fair printers; nor can they be held responsible for such false quantities in proper names as *Democritus* and *Ixion* (*III. 317* and *1012*).

Still, in the main, and in despite of faults of detail, there is, we repeat, merit in this version—merit that shines forth in the presentment of the fine exordium of the Second Book; in the passage which reveals Epicurus's view of the world beyond (*Apparet divum numen, &c., III. 18-30*) in the Third Book; and in divers passages of equal power in the Fifth and Sixth. If there were a chance of an improved edition, which would be tantamount to sacrificing the stereotype, we should counsel the removal of such Yankeeisms as the word "directress" in *III. 95*, and a few other solecisms. As it is, we must be content with noting the proof which this translation gives that, since the publication of Professor Munro's edition, a really competent version of Lucretius is feasible.

CLOTH OF FRIEZE.*

THERE are novelists whose work satisfies the critics rather than the public; there are others who, having fairly established a reputation, seem to set themselves thenceforward to try what liberties they may venture upon; there are others who might be warranted to turn out any quantity of work of fair average quality; and there is the great mass who shovel out rubbish that does not repay the sifting and sorting. Finally, there are a considerable number who write books, often with decided merits, but always with conspicuous faults; books that are consequently pronounced good or bad as they chance to suit the taste of particular readers. In the last category of authors we should be inclined to place Lady Wood, and we may take this latest novel of hers as a very fair illustration of what we mean. For unquestionably

* *Cloth of Frieze.* By Lady Wood, Author of "Sabina," &c. 3 vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1872.

Cloth of Frieze has its merits. In the first place, it fulfils to a considerable extent the primary object of a work of fiction—it interests. Yet all along we have an unpleasant consciousness that the author wants constructive power and is deficient in artistic talent. If her story interests, it is certainly not owing to the love or sympathy we are made to feel for any of her characters. Its main idea is good morally, and by no means bad artistically, for it places worth and worthlessness, the cloth of frieze and the cloth of gold, in effective contrast. It is true that the worthlessness is made sufficiently repellent, thanks to the extreme meanness of the shapes it assumes. But then, on the other hand, the worth owes so very little to adventitious advantages that we cannot for the life of us do more than respect it. It is natural enough that the young heroine, in making her choice between the cloth of gold and the cloth of frieze, should have chosen wrongly. But it takes all the subsequent sobering by sorrow, when she is paying the penalty of her precipitation, to make us believe the lot an enviable one which she shares with the very gallant and respectable officer who offers her his hand in second nuptials.

To our mind the strongest objection to Lady Wood's novels is a marked partiality for what we must call meanness, and a decided tendency to what we can only characterize as coarseness. And in speaking of the mean, we rather refer to meanness of treatment, for treatment goes for so much that it is hard indeed to say what is meanness of subject. The picture of a child from the gutter may be made simply loathsome by obtruding debasement of feature and squalor of person and drapery; while genius may cast a halo of pathetic beauty over the same study by a certain refinement of idealization which shall scarcely do violence to the realism of nature. So doubtless you may write about the sordid money sorrows of a struggling life, as Lady Wood did in a former novel, and find great dramatic suggestiveness in the subject. Yet it is a subject you would scarcely select to work at as a labour of love. In the main idea of *Cloth of Frieze* we are bound to say that Lady Wood has avoided the mistake which made *On Credit* what the French call trivial reading. It glorifies the unpretending sacrifice of a profound love, and Percy Pierce has merited the tardy gratification of his passionate attachment by a long course of painful self-abnegation. But Percy Pierce, although he shows as great personal daring as moral fortitude, remains a mere abstraction to us. Although his heart must be beating warmly within him, he always seems to us like one of those cold studies of classical virtue which we meet in the pictures of David and his followers. On the other hand, Lady Wood has gone to work with a will in the companion study of Jaspas Reed; she has elaborated all his degrading vices and his little meannesses until she has succeeded in turning out one of the most unattractive personages that ever moved in decent society. Doubtless the story is carried back to a time when gentlemen habitually got drunk with comparative social impunity. But it would have been in better taste perhaps simply to indicate the fact, rather than to continually express it, the more so that we believe Lady Wood exaggerates in absolute defiance of artistic considerations. We do not believe that even in the beginning of this century quiet-living gentlemen were perpetually, and on the very faintest provocation, having "drappies in their ee," a quotation which Lady Wood repeats *ad nauseam*. Nor do we suppose that even younger men who intended to shoot at an early archery party for valuable prizes would drink so freely that their unsteady hands left an easy victory to a novice who had trained on ginger-beer. It is not a pleasant picture, that of a very worthy baronet gradually flushing up over a quiet dinner with his wife and daughter; or of the daughter, a very pretty girl, imitating the paternal gluttony, and then retiring after dinner with her friend to unlace her plump charms, and rest from the effects of excess—especially as this young lady subsequently plays second heroine, and comes out as all that is sweet and kind and amiable. We are far from saying that gourmandise is incompatible with good nature; indeed, we believe they often go together, and an excellent digestion may do duty for a heart throughout a lifetime. But we do say that it is characteristic of Lady Wood to obtrude the animal so unpleasantly in Miss Alabaster, whom we afterwards are made to like and admire as Mrs. Ryder. Lady Wood evidently holds her sex in exceedingly small respect, and in a series of asides she is continually giving us the benefit of her unsatisfactory experience of women. Then there is an unpleasant episode where a husband desires to foist his mistress on his wife as lady's-maid. The wife by accident sees the mistress's child, who has been established in one of the gamekeepers' cottages, and at once recognizes it by its extraordinary likeness to her husband. She is naturally greatly hurt by the fact of the child's being there at all, as well as indignant at the outrage intended her. Lady Wood remarks that "a young lady of the present day, in our advanced ideas of education, would have looked leniently on the fact of the baby's illegal existence; but even the fastest of Britain's daughters would have resented the insult of putting the left-handed wife in contact with the one who was lawful, though such conduct had royal sanction." The whole sentence has an unpleasant ring, and especially in a woman's mouth, from the commonplace cynicism of its beginning to the playful allusion at the end. The best that can be said for it is that it is in excellent keeping with the episode over which it moralizes. Men often form irregular connexions before marriage, and it is quite possible to imagine a man so shameless as to attempt to provide for a deserted mistress by imposing her upon a newly married wife. But incidents of this

sort can only be turned to good artistic purpose by the most discreet and delicate handling, and it is to be regretted that they should be so much in favour with lady novel-writers. We might indefinitely enlarge our catalogue of the unpleasant touches to which we object. Old Captain Swift is captivated by Miss Mary Capper's plump shoulders when he shawls her, and thin Mrs. Hawser engages an inside place with him in the London mail that she might make love to the Captain through the medium of her graceful ankles—the ankle, we are informed, being the most lasting of feminine charms. Colonel Ryder, who is represented otherwise as all that is high bred and honourable, takes advantage of the *roué* Jaspas Reed being in desperate embarrassment to buy off his attention to the object of the Colonel's earnest attachment, by a temporary accommodation of 100*l*. Things may of course have possibly enough passed as Lady Wood describes. We can only say that she would have written a more agreeable story by avoiding or merely glancing at much that she brings out into glaring prominence.

Still there is, we repeat, a certain interest about the story, while we can imagine readers to whom some of its blemishes may prove positive attractions. It gets well under way at once. Ella Swift, the heroine, is thrown on the hands of her uncle, Captain Swift, an old half-pay naval officer. Ella is launched in the small society of Mudborough, a little provincial town of the type of Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford, although, to carry out the nautical metaphor, she rather sticks on the ways for want of the needful money to grease them. Captain Swift is a poor man, and her allowance is an exceedingly small one. Ella, however, is a very pretty girl, and she speedily finds a couple of lovers. One of them is Lieutenant Percy Pierce, Captain Swift's adopted son, poor, ugly, gallant, and highly meritorious. The other is Jaspas Reed, who characteristically rushes into the Mudborough Assembly Rooms, flushed with wine, at the head of a band of excited young officers, like "the leader of the rabble rout in *Comus*." Finding Ella there alone, he falls in love with her at first sight. Jaspas is also in love with the rich Miss Alabaster, afterwards Mrs. Ryder, or at least with Miss Alabaster's money. He is of no profession, is excessively extravagant, and is kept by his father exceedingly short of money, although he is an only son and heir to a fine place and fortune. Probably prudence would have triumphed over impulse, and notwithstanding Colonel Ryder's loan, he might never have married Ella Swift, and might have married Miss Alabaster. But he behaves exceedingly badly in a quarrel with Lieutenant Pierce, and the lieutenant challenges and shoots him. Then Pierce brings Ella to the wounded man's bedside to nurse him; next, he persuades him to marry her; with infinite trouble he smooths away all obstacles elsewhere to the union, and provides the couple with the costly special licence out of his own scanty means. Surely never was self-sacrifice carried further, for all the time he is himself passionately in love with Ella. Then Ella's tender nursing pulls the good-for-nothing Jaspas through, and before her honeymoon with the convalescent scamp is half over, her sorrows begin. She finds that her husband has his Mephistopheles in the shape of a rascally valet, with whom he lives on terms of low confidence. Oddly enough, he consents to continue in the valet's power; for, although he has a fine, if encumbered, property, and knows that the man robs him scandalously in his monthly accounts, he will not make an effort and pay him off. We forgot to say that he had succeeded to the title and estates while he lay on his sickbed. Sir Jaspas drinks at all hours, and is habitually drunk at the dining-table. He neither resents on his own account nor on hers the fact that none of the neighbours' wives will call on her. He has brought his former mistress and his child to a cottage close by the garden, and, as we said, he has her recommended to his wife as maid. When the Ryders come and settle in the neighbourhood, he makes violent love to his former flame, who is now his wife's bosom and only friend. But by this time Mrs. Ryder detests him, and only tolerates him for his wife's sake, so no actual harm comes of that, although it is painful enough to Ellen, whose old affection is not utterly extinguished. But perhaps what is hardest of all on her is the brutal half-drunken candour with which he blurts out to her all that he ought to have kept concealed. At last his valet murders him on a dark night, or at least the reader is left to lay the crime at the valet's door, and high time it is that he disappeared from the scene. Lady Reed returns to her uncle, poor as she left him, for there was no settlement. The constant Captain Pierce, who has won in the meantime promotion, reputation, and prize money, comes forward and marries her. He proves to be the long-lost nephew of a venerable old gentleman, the new heir of Sir Jaspas's place, Aberhill. The uncle welcomes his nephew and niece to his affections; he makes over the property to them on condition of their paying him an annuity of 5,000*l*, in the shape of expenditure on the estates, and if money and sterling qualities in a husband can assure Ella's future happiness, happy she ought to be. We ought to have said that, as befits a story where two of the leading personages are naval heroes, *Cloth of Frieze* is very much of a nautical novel. But we do not profess to criticize Lady Wood's seamanship, or to follow her among the shoals and shallows of the nautical technicalities in which she is so fluent. We can only say they sound to us somewhat more like echoes from transpontine theatres than the naval writing we have been accustomed to in the pages of *Tom Cringle* and *Mr. Midshipman Easy*.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

A MAGNIFICENT edition of the four Gospels*, which has been in preparation for several years, has been brought out by the enterprising firm of Messrs. Hachette. The principal feature of this important work is that the illustrations composed by M. Bida are not, as is too frequently the case, fancy subjects taken from the artist's own imagination, and which have therefore very little in common with reality. M. Bida spent a considerable time in the Holy Land for the purpose of studying the scenery, architecture, costume, and manners of the people, and the drawings which he has brought back in his portfolio, whilst they reproduce with much vigour the principal incidents in the life of our Lord, are also exact transcripts of Oriental life and Oriental places. The text is the French one of Bossuet, and in addition to the hundred and twenty-eight steel plates for which M. Bida is responsible, each page is surrounded by appropriate marginal decorations likewise engraved on steel, and reflecting the greatest credit upon M. Rossignaux, the artist.

M. Paul Cère, who lately filled the post of prefect of one of the French departments, has written an excellent little volume† on the dangerous classes of society. He observes in the first instance that Government allows itself to be too uniformly engrossed by politics, strictly so called, and that the care of international relations prevents statesmen from dealing with the formidable elements which constantly threaten the very existence of civilization. In the meanwhile the facilities for crime are increasing in a wonderful proportion, the condition of the labouring poor remains extremely precarious, and the artificial state of society in which we live has brought about a perilous degree of corruption and of immorality. The pretensions of Socialist and Communist reformers may be, and are, no doubt, ridiculous enough; but the movement includes some legitimate elements, and the best way of combating the theories of M. Assi's followers is to adopt frankly whatever is reasonable in their demands. M. Cère examines in detail all the questions connected with the moral welfare of society. Public education, prisons, military service, workshops, emigration—such are some of the subjects which he discusses; his remarks are always deserving of serious consideration, and the facts which he quotes by way of illustration have been derived from the most authentic sources.

The late M. Prosper Mérimée used to say, "Je n'aime de l'histoire que les anecdotes." M. Edmond Guérard has selected this remark as the motto for two closely printed volumes of amusing scraps borrowed from the stores of historical literature; France, the classical country of memoirs and epistolary writing, has naturally been at all times fertile in neat little stories, concise and witty, polished like epigrams when they are not distinguished by some exquisite *bêtise* quite as worthy of being recorded as the choicest specimen of pathos. The mere enumeration of the volumes of *ana* published amongst our neighbours from the days of Tallemant des Réaux down to the present time would fill a good-sized catalogue, and M. Guérard has had to go over a considerable tract of ground in making his extracts. The anecdotes he prints are arranged under appropriate heads, the sources from which they have been taken are always indicated, and a few notes are inserted where necessary. We must say, however, that although any reader acquainted with the niceties of the French language may enjoy the witticisms collected by M. Guérard, the historical incidents which supply the material for nearly every quotation require, to be fully appreciated, an accurate knowledge of memoir literature. We would also take the liberty of remarking that some of the anecdotes are too coarse for a collection intended for general readers.

We have heretofore had to notice a few instalments of M. Camille Rousset's *Bibliothèque de l'Armée française*. Several more volumes of this collection are now before us.‡ It is to be regretted that some kind of preface or introduction should not have been given, stating on what plan the series is conceived, and what works are intended to form part of it. It strikes us also that, even at the risk of increasing the expense, some good maps should have been added; and finally, in works of this kind notes are quite indispensable. Soldiers cannot be supposed to understand anything about the system of Greek and Roman strategy by merely reading the narratives of Xenophon, Julius Caesar, or Sallust; nor can they discuss the merits of the Seven Years' War, the character of the generals who took part in it, and the political results to which it led, if they have before them nothing but the memoirs of Frederick the Great. We hope that M. Rousset will so far modify the execution of the volumes which he intends to publish as to make his collection a really useful one.

Dr. Livingston's treatise on Criminal Law is a work of so much importance that we cannot wonder at its appearing in a French dress through the diligence of M. Charles Lucas, a member of the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, and himself a friend of the celebrated American jurist. Our readers may be aware that in 1820 the criminal legislation of the State of Louisiana was ordered to be revised, and that the care of this re-

vision was entrusted to Livingston. He prepared immediately a report on the subject, and after having consulted the most eminent lawyers both of Europe and of his own country, he composed a treatise which is still looked upon as a standard work on one of the most difficult parts of legislation. It is a new edition of Livingston's *exposé* which is now before us.* M. Charles Lucas has prefixed to it, first, a very valuable introduction; and secondly, the *éloge* delivered by M. Mignet on the celebrated American lawyer.

The two volumes of *Œuvres diverses*† which the friends of the late M. Charles Clavel have just published consist of short essays written at various times in the *Économiste belge*, the *Journal de Genève*, and the *Bibliothèque universelle*; they treat of education, government, and moral philosophy, and they reflect the greatest credit upon the writer. Born at Geneva, M. Clavel at an early age directed his attention to political questions, and although his writings are only newspaper articles, and he never aspired to any higher position than that of a journalist, he has left behind him a well deserved reputation as one of the most eminent thinkers of the present day. He belonged to the school of M. de Tocqueville, and the biographical sketch with which M. Frédéric Passy has introduced the collection of his works enables us to appreciate exactly the position he occupies on the list of practical politicians.

About twenty years ago, shortly after the *coup d'état*, the lady who assumes the literary pseudonym of Daniel Stern was led to reflect on the extraordinary suddenness with which the Republican institutions of France had twice been thrown down and replaced by the despotism of the sword. Why should such abrupt transformations be possible in France, whilst in other countries institutions of the same kind had prospered and lasted? The wish to solve this problem led Daniel Stern to study the history of nations where democratic principles had flourished, and from the list of such nations she selected the Netherlands.‡ At that time the work of Mr. Motley was not known amongst our French neighbours, and the Abbé Raynal's superficial *Histoire du Stat-houdérat* was the only source of information they had on the subject. The volume just published by Daniel Stern is the first of a work which is intended to contain a detailed account of the origin and formation of the Dutch Republic; it takes us as far as the death of Oden Barneveldt, and is written of course from the democratic point of view. The author's style is remarkably clear, and the notes prove that in every instance the best sources have been consulted.

M. Gustave Bertrand is one of those who think that political discussions have nothing to do with questions of art and philosophy, and that true patriotism is perfectly consistent with admiration of the works of Weber, Mozart, and Beethoven.§ How indignant genuine connoisseurs used to be, some time ago, at the narrow-mindedness of Italian dilettanti who would not admit that either Germans or Frenchmen understood anything about music! With what expressions of contempt they talked of the feuds between the Gluckists and the Piccinists! Well, says M. Bertrand, let us not fall into the same fault ourselves; but let us admire the authors of *Der Freischütz* and of *Don Giovanni*, although they are Germans. M. Bertrand's book is a series of monographs written by an experienced musician, who endeavours to be impartial, and who feels quite aggrieved at the thought that Offenbach should be just now more popular than Gounod or Ambroise Thomas. In his last chapter, on the twofold influence of Verdi and Wagner, he contends that the composer of *Lohengrin* cannot hope to succeed in moulding French art, for the simple reason that even in his own country his pretensions are far from being universally acknowledged. Out of the two thousand Wagnerians residing at Berlin, says a German critic quoted by M. Bertrand, the majority are merely dreamers whom the metaphysical theories of the composer have led astray, and who, when they listen to his operas, do so not musically, but psychologically. If a man says that his mission is to revolutionize music after the fashion of the French democrats, he is sure to gather around him a crowd of fanatics, and that, we are told, is just what Wagner has been doing.

It is a volume of sad experiences which M. Amédée Achard publishes under the title *Souvenirs personnels d'Émeutes et de Révolutions*||. Sad, from our point of view, at least; but a Parisian would perhaps take a much less gloomy view of the subject, for, as our author remarks, "Grattez le Parisien et vous trouverez le révolutionnaire." From the days of the Maillottins and of Étienne Marcel the inhabitants of Paris have been constantly steeped in riots, and when we see most of the statesmen who have governed France since 1830 serving their apprenticeship as conspirators before undertaking the task of putting down conspirators, we can scarcely wonder at the enthusiasm with which every one rushes in to swell the ranks of the militant opposition. M. Achard has fortunately grown wiser. There are three stages through which all persons have to pass who meddle with revolutions. They begin by helping to construct barricades, and by firing at the *agents du*

* *Les saints Évangiles*, illustrés par M. Bida. Paris and London: Hachette & Co.

† *Les Populations dangereuses et les Misères sociales*. Par Paul Cère. Paris: Dentu.

‡ *Dictionnaire encyclopédique d'Anecdotes*. Par Edmond Guérard. Paris: Didot.

§ *Bibliothèque de l'Armée française*. Frédéric: œuvres historiques. Paris and London: Hachette & Co.

* *Exposé d'un système de Législation criminelle*. Par E. Livingston. Paris: Guillaumin.

† *Œuvres diverses* de Charles Clavel. Paris: Guillaumin.

‡ *Histoire des commencements de la République aux Pays-Bas*, Par Daniel Stern. Vol. 1. Paris: Lévy.

§ *Les Nationalités musicales*. Par G. Bertrand. Paris: Didot.

|| *Souvenirs personnels d'Émeutes et de Révolutions*. Par A. Achard. Paris: Lévy.

despotism. After two or three experiments of the kind, if they are fortunate enough to escape being shot or shipped off to Lambessa, the next revolutionary outburst sees them assuming the position of mere spectators. Their sympathies are still secretly with the insurgents, but they do not care to manifest these sympathies, and they remain quiet. Later still, rendered more steady by experience, having a social position, an income, and a family, they understand that, after all, revolutions do much more harm than good, and when the drum beats to arms they join the party of order, with the consciousness that they are helping to save that society which a quarter of a century before they did their best to upset.

M. Drapeyron-Seligmann* is a decided Republican, but his political views are as far removed as possible from those of the Commune, and he does not hesitate to tell very wholesome truths to the men who in his opinion have compromised by their extravagance the cause of democracy. Never, he says, has the tide of error and of sophistry been so strong as during the twelve months which followed the revolution of September 4. The part of a real patriot was to resist, not to follow, the stream. Our author holds that one of the principal causes of the misfortunes by which France has been lately visited is to be found in the deplorable ignorance of the population. Many persons regard intellectual eminence as an attack upon the principle of equality, and a return to the privileges of the *ancien régime*; whilst many more, doubting the reality of their own beliefs, are afraid lest reflection and calm inquiry should dissolve them at once. M. Drapeyron-Seligmann, as our readers may imagine, had some trouble to publish, under the reign of the Commune, plain-spoken remarks made from the point of view we have just indicated; but he managed to obtain for them the hospitality of M. Arthur Picard's journal *L'Électeur libre*, and he now reprints them in a volume as a memorial of the war and of the subsequent insurrection—those two acts of madness of modern Paris.

In his *Roman des Soldats*† M. Jules Claretie has endeavoured through the medium of fiction to describe the leading features of the French army at four distinct points of the revolutionary period. 1792, for instance, represents the epoch of enthusiasm and of disinterestedness, when the spirit of militarism had not yet seized hold of the nation, and when patriotism, not the love of gold and of pillage, urged forward the troops of Hoche and Dumouriez. With 1815 commences a series of disasters arising from the undue preponderance given to the army; and in 1871 the same causes led to exactly the same results. M. Claretie has introduced his tales by a preface on the state of the French army, and on the means of restoring it to its old efficiency. He would have the whole male population trained to arms, by which means, as he contends, the system of Pretorian bands, so favourable to despotism, would be annihilated at once. We are glad to see M. Claretie distinctly repudiating the foolish and mischievous notion, already so successfully refuted by M. Camille Rousset, that the volunteers of 1792, representing the armed nation, deserve all the credit of the brilliant campaigns of the early part of the Revolution. It is well known that the victories which marked that epoch were gained by the disciplined troops of the old French regular army, and that then, as in 1871, when the volunteers acted alone, they showed what, after all, was quite natural, a weakness and ignorance which no amount of patriotism can compensate.

Accidents and personages connected with the late war still give rise to an immense number of pamphlets written under the most conflicting views, and which deserve to be studied by those who at some future time will write the history of the campaign. Garibaldi, so violently attacked by some, has found in M. Aug. Marais an eloquent champion.‡ M. Marais is, however, very unfair towards M. Schneider, General Ducrot, General Trochu, and all Frenchmen who do not adopt to their full extent the principles of the Revolution. The life of Admiral Bouët-Willamez§ is related in a simple and interesting manner by M. Félix Julien, who takes the opportunity of showing that the science of war is completely lost sight of by modern officers. Things have come to such a pass that a mere stump-orator who never saw a field of battle in his life, and never got on horseback, was a few months ago in a position to impose plans upon generals, and to direct the operations of armies in a war where the very existence of France was at stake. A German writer descanting eloquently on the tyranny of Prince Bismarck is certainly something quite novel.|| Prudence has led him to conceal his name, and to borrow the French language for the purpose of expressing his hatred of Prussia; but we question very much whether the bitterness of his anti-Bismarck tendencies will atone in the minds of Frenchmen for the severity of his judgments upon France. According to him, the spirit of patriotism has entirely disappeared under the enervating influences of vice and luxury; selfishness is universal, and after the revolution of September 4, instead of finding at the head of affairs statesmen whose pretensions were justified by their virtues and their talents, we discover only idiots, madmen, and monsters. The French translator of this remarkable pamphlet has

corrected here and there in foot-notes some of the author's statements, and added to the information which he gives us.

M. Albert Dumont's statistical documents on the Prussian propaganda in Alsace have been previously published by the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.* They are given as the *pièces justificatives* of a narrative which contains curious details respecting the invasion of Eastern France during the late war. M. Dumont aims, first, at refuting all the ideas circulated by Prussia respecting the Teutonic affinities of Alsace; and, secondly, at showing that the extreme severity of the measures adopted by the invaders proved how little they trusted to the sympathies of the inhabitants.

The interesting Yellow Book† published on the Communal insurrection is now completed by a third volume of illustrative documents. We have, first, General Ducrot's evidence, and then various *procès-verbaux* and reports of meetings held by the members of the Central Committee, the Committee of Public Safety, the International Society, the Republican Alliance, &c. To these the members of the Board of Inquiry have added Prince Czartoryski's letter on the supposed share taken by the Poles in the movement, and finally a certain number of protests called forth by the statements of some of the witnesses. M. Étienne Arago's flat denial of the accusation made against him by General Ducrot is a curious case in point, and it deserves to be attentively weighed; but it is not easy to get over the equally strong and explicit assertions of the officers who saw M. Arago at the Hôtel de Ville. Which are we to believe?

M. Charles Vatel‡ would have rendered his work on Charlotte Corday much more interesting if he had suppressed half the materials placed at his disposal, and arranged the remainder in something like methodical order. It is impossible to imagine a more hopeless mass of confusion than the three volumes now before us. Some of the facts recorded are valuable either from a literary or from a purely historical point of view; but M. Vatel has sent to the printer an astounding quantity of useless rubbish. The most prominent piece is a tragedy composed on the subject of Charlotte Corday by a Girondist politician named Salle, who was acquainted with the heroine, and whose dramatic production was corrected by Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. It is curious to read the critiques made by these three distinguished Republicans; the most interesting one is that of Barbaroux, because it bears not upon points of style, but upon the character of Charlotte Corday, which Salle had succeeded in delineating, and therefore it has all the value of an historical document. M. Vatel has added to the tragedy a complete list of all works of the same description composed on the death of Marat; the enumeration is a long one, and is illustrated by extracts and comments. We have afterwards a large collection of letters, official decrees, and other papers referring to the unfortunate Girondists, and a separate album of portraits, autographs, views, &c.

The *Récit d'une petite fille*§, which we noticed a few months ago, gained a popularity which encouraged the young authoress to complete the narrative by a brief description of her visit to Ireland. Madlle. Suzanne's volumes are very pleasant reading; the freshness of the descriptions and the *naïveté* of the thoughts are delightful.

* *L'Administration et la Propagande prussienne en Alsace*. Par A. Dumont. Paris: Didier.

† *Assemblée nationale. Enquête parlementaire sur l'insurrection du 18 mars*. Paris: Germer-Baillière.

‡ *Charlotte de Corday et les Girondins*. Par Charles Vatel. Paris: Plon.

§ *Suite du Récit d'une petite fille de quatorze ans*. Angers: Barassé.

NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

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